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# COUNT NICOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF'S THEORY FOR MISSIONS PORTRAYED AT HERRNHUT AND BY SELECTED 18th-20th CENTURY MORAVIAN MISSIONS

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LARRY A. ROTH

Lieutenant Commander
Chaplain Corps
United States Navy

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction . . . . . 1

The German Pietist Foundations . . . . . 9

Count Zinzendorf: The Forming of a Mission Theory . . 19

Herrnhut: The Base for Mission Outreach . . . . . 31

West Indies: The First Mission Experiment . . . . . 47

Zinzendorf's Developing Mission Theory . . . . . 58

Selected Moravian Missions . . . . . 69

Indian Missions in Southern California . . . . . 86

Conclusion . . . . . 103

Bibliography . . . . . 109

Appendix A: Method for the Conversion of the Heathen . 113

Appendix B: Plan for a Catechism for the Heathen . . 114

Appendix C: Moravian Mission Statistics . . . . . 118

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## INTRODUCTION

In the history of Christian missions, Moravians[1] have been admired and emulated. The purpose of this paper is not to review the history of Moravian missions[2] but to trace the development of the theory of missions in the life and work of Count Nicolaus Ludwig Von Zinzendorf and to analyze the significance and impact this theory had upon Moravian missions as they expanded throughout the world in the 18th and 19th century with some review of modern Moravian missions. I wish to identify the various ingredients that molded this theory of missions as it developed with the hope that it guide us today in the development of our own theory of how best the Christian message of hope and salvation may be passed effectively and infused into the many non-Western, non-Christian cultures and countries of the world.

To begin to appreciate the richness and wealth of the many contributions made by Count von Zinzendorf and the Moravians, one must view them from more than one side or dimension. One must see them in the historical perspective, observe them in the light of their day, noting the issues that directed their thoughts and decisions, that formed their goals, and later their theory of missions. While not including an in-depth review of Moravian Church history, I

shall, however, present some of the highlights of their past that will give understanding and framework to this mission theory as it developed throughout the years of Zinzendorf's early childhood in the setting of German Pietism, education in pietist and Lutheran centers of learning, at the Herrnhut refuge estate and thoughtout the years of mission experimentation.

When one first thinks of Moravians, the association of thought first links one with their bold lead in missions. This is quite proper, as Moravians gave birth to the modern missionary movement of Protestantism. More than fifty years before William Carey, often referred to as the first Englishman to go out as a foreign missionary, English Moravian Brethren had gone out from England's shores as foreign missionaries.[3]

Upon the 250th Anniversary of the sending of the first Moravian missionaries from Herrnhut in 1732, the inaugural issue of Christian History magazine produced a special commemorative edition celebrating this crucial event that launched the modern Protestant missionary era. The importance of Moravian contributions to missions is recognized by many from leading Protestant denominations and Theological schools in their letters to the editor of this special issue. Paul E. Pierson, Dean of Fuller Theological Seminary writes:

> ...the Moravians became the pioneers of the movement that would establish the evangelical church in every nation on earth. The Moravians are unique. Later European missionary societies would be composed of small minorities within their churches; the Moravians soon became committed to world missions as a church, that is the whole church became a missionary society. Because of this deep commitment, this small group furnished over half the Protestant missionaries who sailed from Europe in the 18th century. They became the forerunners and models for the growing streams of missionaries of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Speaking of the spiritual leadership of Count Zinzendorf and of the great mission outreach of the Moravians, J. Herbert Kane, a retired professor of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School writes:

> ...Nicolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf was one of the greatest Christian leaders of the 18th century. In spite of his paternalism, he was two centuries ahead of his time both in the missionary policies he espoused and in the ecumenical relations he encouraged. Under his dynamic leadership the Moravians sent out in 20 years more missionaries than all the other Protestant groups had done in 200 years. Their amazing success was due to two strong convictions: (1) that world evangelization is the <u>prime</u> obligation of the church, (2) that this obligation is the personal responsibility of every member of the Christian community...If all post-Reformation churches had been as missionary-minded as the Moravians, the evangelization of the world would be much farther along than it is today.

In the above letter, one begins to gain a glimpse of another dimension of Count Zinzendorf's contribution. It boldly states that he was "one of the greatest Christian leaders of the 18th century." This leadership was not expressed only in missionary outreach. Zinzendorf has become recognized as a pioneer of the Ecumenical Movement. His all-absorbing interest, says Karl Barth, was to

implement the idea of a free connection between all the Churches, based on their 'common love of the Saviour'.[4] Dr. Norman Sykes declared Zinzendorf was 'in truth a pioneer of eucumenism'.[5]

Another facet of the Zinzendorf gem is his spiritual leadership of revival. In a series of books on Leaders of Revivals, one written by Bishop E. R. Hasse, titled, The Moravians, features words of introduction by Rev. Handley C. G. Moule, Bishop of Durham.

> All who know anything of Missionary history, know at least something of the glorious, while always unobtrusive, labours and victories of this wonderful community in the uttermost parts of the earth. But fewer, as Bishop Hasse says, know how deep has been the Moravian influence in Revival, not only far off but in our own land. Under God, English Christendom owes a debt never to be fully paid to the holy friends of Zinzendorf, who ministered light, peace, and power to Wesley's ardent soul.

Bishop Hasse wrote that the part Moravians played in the Evangelical Revival of the 18th century is admitted, but "the full, far-reaching scope and effect of their influence on that memorable movement has been, to a large extent, overlooked or forgotten."[6]

Central to Zinzendorf's contributions in revival, ecumenism and missionary outreach was his depth of theological understanding and expression. When one thinks of great theologians, the name of Zinzendorf usually doesn't flash into view. Especially, when one realizes that the Count never studied theology formally. Yet George W. Forell

who translated and edited Count Zinzendorf's Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion that had been preached in Fetter Lane Chapel in London in 1746 said, "the most influential German theologian between Luther and Schleiermacher was Nicolaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf." In the introduction to the above mentioned work, Forell explains that Schleiermacher was greatly influenced by Zinzendorf's thought. Schleirmacher, born only eight years after Zinzendorf's death, gained his education at Niesky and Barby, two educational institutions of the followers of Count Zinzendorf. So much did he identify himself with the Count that in later life he called himself a "Herrnhuter von einer hoherem Ordnung," (a Moravian of a higher order.) Forell's continued, "The count's subtle and pervasive influence on Schleirmacher and the theology that developed after him is one reason for his abiding significance."[7]

There were those later who said that Zinzendorf was "Luther come back to life." In 1866 Ludwig Feuerbach exclaimed that this statement was quite justified, "Zinzendorf is Luther reborn in the 18th century, therefore not in the form of a miner's son and former Augustinian monk but rather as a great man of the world, an imperial count."[8]

Forell indicates that, due to the renewed interest in

Zinzendorf's theological contributions, there has been something like a Zinzendorf revival in Europe in recent years. He cites a number of reasons for this.

> He was a truly fascinating personality, fitting into no existing category. Scion of the highest German nobility and stepson of a Prussian General Field Marshal, he was at the same time the friend of all kinds of religious radicals, enthusiasts, and Christian pacifists. He used daring nd paradoxical language which tended to charm and b ilder his hearers and readers simultaneously. An riginal, even seminal thinker, he was unaffected by the technical training of professional theologians and was thus frequently able to see old truths in a new light.[9]

We are beginning to see the significance of various aspects of the Count in the development of his mission theory. In his deep spiritual experience which led him to leadership in revivals and expression in theological clearness and warm ecumenical spirit, we will see a base built for a community of brethren who likewise share the same "spirit". This spiritual experience and desire to share the joy of Christ with the whole world became the flame of zeal that led the Moravians as an entire church community toward making the world their mission field.

To catch the "spirit" of the man and these dedicated people, I shall first review German Pietism. Then we will observe the young Count develop his mission theory. To see Zinzendorf's concepts we must then walk the streets and visit the homes of Herrnhut which became the center of all later mission outreach. We then will be ready to sail the

oceans to see Zinzendorf's mission theory in action in the many outposts around the world.

Select missions will be studied beginning with those established in the 18th century. We will constantly be looking for mission methods, ways of presenting the gospel of Jesus Christ in the cultures of people different from one's own, giving a message that is designed to reach the hearts of people, and make them one, united in Christ. Thus the spirit of Zinzendorf, the revivalist, the ecumenical pioneer and the mission theorist, will be kept alive in our age.

The importance of this subject cannot be overstated. Jesus himself said, "And this gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world as a testimony to all nations, and then the end will come." (Matt. 24:14). For the Kingdom of grace to become the Kingdom of glory, the Person of Christ, the name above every name in Heaven and earth must be heard by all. Then Christ will return to bring an end to this age of sin and death and usher in his eternal kingdom of glory. This conviction of Zinzendorf and the early Moravian missionaries is the basis of much Evangelical Christianity thinking today, and still stirs the hearts of missionaries.

Let us turn now to the spiritual and religious atmosphere that led to the Moravian missionary movement.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]"Moravian" was a popular "nickname" given in the 1730's by the English Christians to the historic pre-Reformation Church known originally as the Unity of the Brethren or Unitas Fratrum.

[2]While not reviewing in-depth the history of the Moravian Church, I shall include some excellent volumes of historical accounts of the church in the Bibliography for those who wish to persue this study.

[3]J. E. Hutton, A History of the Moravian Church, p. 251.

[4]Karl Barth, From Fousseau to Ritschl, p. 44.

[5]In a broadcast, 9 May 1957. For further study of Zinzendorf's contribution to the Ecumenical movement see A. J. Lewis, Zinzendorf The Ecumenical Pionner.

[6]E. R. Hasse, The Moravians, p. vii.

[7]Nicholaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion, p. vii, viii.

[8]Ibid., p. viii.

[9]Ibid.

## THE GERMAN PIETIST FOUNDATIONS

The foundation of Count Zinzendorf's mission methods and emphasis and his concepts and contributions in ecumenism and revivalism is be found in German Pietism. But how and through whom was Zinzendorf influenced by this movement?

As Lewis said, "Zinzendorf was cradled in religion."[1] His grandfather had emigrated from Austria because of restricted Protestant liberties. His father, George Ludwig, had become a Minister of State in Saxony. Being a spiritual man of faith, he soon became a personal friend of Philip Jacob Spener, the leader of what became known as Pietism. But his father died when Zinzendorf was only six weeks old. His mother remarried and young four-year-old Nicolaus was taken by his grandmother, the Baroness Catherine von Gersdorf. Grandmother was a scholar in her own right, "learned in theology and in the Greek and Hebrew languages...eminent Pietists often visited her and she endeavored to carry out their principles in her own family."[2] This castle became a home of Pietism, that is what became known as the Spener-Halle type of Pietism. Spener had often been a welcome guest in their home and in fact when Nicolaus was baptized, Spener was asked to be godfather for young Nicolaus. There in the castle at Gross-Hennersdorf in Upper Lusatia, Nicolaus lived along

with his aunt, Henrietta. Zinzendorf naturally grew up being educated by Pietist tutors and he proved to be a bright and willing student.

But what was Pietism? What led to this movement? It seems that the warm spiritual life of the Reformation had become cold in the growing dogmatism of the Lutheran Church by the middle of the seventeenth century. The regular Protestant churches, mainly Lutheran and Calvinist churches, had taken on a certain rigidity. Second generation Lutheran and Calvinist scholars had worked their systematic theology into the creeds of the church. As Stoeffler said in his review of German Pietism, "European church life had fallen victim first to the cold theologism of Orthodoxy and then to the airid moralisms of the Wolffian Enlighteners."[3]

Evangelical Pietism then was a reaction to this growing coldness in faith and formalism in worship. Pietism became a revival movement, "aimed at making man's relation to God experientially and morally meaningful as well as socially relevant. It stressed the feelings of the heart. It emphasized the royal priesthood and sought to revive the laity. It called always for a return to the Bible."[4] The Pietistic Revival set out to intensify Christian piety and purity of life. It protested the intellectualism of the Protestant Scholasticism that had arisen in Germany. It set

out to bring new life into the churchly formalism and stale worship services. And it worked to bring reformation in the practices of clergy and laity in the ethical passivity of the day. As time went by the reform intentions of Pietism broadened to include protests "against the new forms of rationalism and the spiritual coldness of the Enlightenment."[5]

The religious emphases which Spener and his early followers felt to be of basic importance may be summarized as follows:

> The need for... an authentic and vitally significant experience of God on the part of the individual Christians; the religious life as a life of love for God and man... confidence, with respect to the issues of both life and death... the church as a community of God's people... the need for the implementation of the Reformation understanding of the priesthood of all believers... a ministry which is sensitized, trained, and oriented to respond to the needs and problems of a given age; and finally, the continual adaptation of ecclesiastical structures, practices, and verbal definitions to the mission of the church.[6]

Pietism was not a new sect, it was not even a new society, but was just an influence that sought to work within the church to bring about personal religion and practical goodness.

The sources of this Pietist influence were traced by A. H. Mumford in telling Our Church's Story to the children and youth of the Moravian church. Ironically, he linked it to the Roman Catholic Church. He took the children to the desert, home of the hermits who had

separated themselves from the noise and strife of the city to meditate and pray, to settle questions of faith and life. Many good Roman Catholic men lived the life of a hermit, he explained, the most famous being St. Francis of Assisi (c.1200), whose disciples were to become the order of the Franciscans. St. Francis, being the Mystic that he was, believed in the Inner Light. And in the stillness God spoke to him and in his heart he learned truths he could not learn in the monasteries. His discovery of spiritual growth and meaningful life led to teachings which passed into Protestantism and began to bear fruit. Mumford explained that since Protestants, especially those of the Pietist bent, do not accept the same stress on forms and ceremonies as the Catholics, their form of Mysticism took new shape. Mysticism among Protestants is almost always practical, personal, practical religion, the Inner Light shining through conduct.[7]

Though Peter of Chelcic (1419-1450) was known more for his pacifist Quaker teachings that it was wrong to kill your enemy on the battlefield, his more helpful teaching for the future of Moravians was that of the Inner Life. He declared that a man's real warfare is in himself, each man being his own kingdom which must first be subdued. Nothing mattered so much as being free in his own soul, mastering one's own heart and life.

These ideas of Peter became popular among many students and citizens who followed his counsel to withdraw from public life and go to some quiet place where they might "fight the good fight" in peace. Their appeal to King George was granted and in fact granted them permission to settle on his estate at Lititz . It was these Lititz colonists who founded the church of the Brethren.[8] It was a long process, but the Mysticism of Peter was instilled in the life of Moravian ancestry from their earliest formation.

Current scholars indicate that, during The Thirty Years' War (1618-48) there was an awakened interest in earlier devotional literature, some of which reflected the pious mysticism associated with such names as Johannes Tauler (c. 1300-61), Thomas a Kempis (c. 1380-1471), and other German, Dutch and even Spanish authors. This mystical tradition had lived on into the Reformation and found representatives in Kaspar Schwenckfeld (1489-1561), Valentin Weigel (1533-88), and Jacob Bohme (1575-1624). Both Lutherans and Calvinists opposed these mystics, yet many of their religious and theological ideas were made a part of orthodox theology.[9] Other influences that formed the roots of Pietism included those of English Puritanism which reached the Continent through the translation of works by Richard Baxter (1615-91),

Lewis Bayly (1565-1631), and John Bunyan (1628-88).[10]

All of these influences began to create reforms that along with the stirrings within German Lutheranism came to be known as "Reform Orthodoxy." Recent scholars have given stress to the important role played by such individuals as Johann Arndt (1555-1621). Some go so far as to call Arndt the "father of Pietism." His chief work, True Christianity (1610), was soon read in many homes.[11]

John Weinlick notes that, "Whatever the various springs of Pietism were--Anabaptist influence, Roman Catholic mystical piety, Puritanism, the mysticism of Jacob Bohme--its immediate father was Philip Jacob Spener, Lutheran clergyman, born in Alsace in 1635."[12] The reading of treatises of English Puritans and especially the book, True Christianity by Arndt had impressed him with the need of reform in personal piety, and the more careful biblical exegesis and church discipline he saw in the Reformed Church must be adopted.

Spener began to apply these convictions for reform in his first pastorate at Frankfort. He made changes in his catechetical instruction, but his most important action was the experiment in holding private meetings at his home for Bible study, prayer and discussion of the previous Sunday's Sermon. These small groups were called, "collegia

pietatis," translated to mean, "assemblies of piety."

Spener became a household name in Germany because of his writings and correspondence with influential men. His most important publication was his Pia Desideria (Pious Desires). Here he reviewed the low estate of the church, clergy and laymen and then brightened the work with the great possibility of better conditions in the church based upon God's own promise. The heathen (Gentiles) would be brought in, even the Jews would be converted by God. But the fulfillment of these hopes would be based upon a six-point reform program noted by Clifford Nelson:

> 1. The Word of God--the whole Bible, not merely the pericopes--must be made known widely through public and private reading, group study and family devotions.
> 2. There should be a reactivation of Luther's idea of the priesthood of believers, which included not only the "rights of the laity" but also responsibility toward one's fellowmen.
> 3. People should be taught that Christianity consists not only in knowing God's will but in doing it, especially by implementing love of the neighbour.
> 4. Religious controversies with unbelievers and heretics unfortunately may be necessary. If they cannot be avoided, they should be entered prayerfully and with love for those in error.
> 5. Theological education must be reformed. Professors must see that future pastors are not only theologically learned but spiritually committed.
> 6. Finally, preaching should have edification and the cultivation of inner piety as its goal.[13]

Spener's influence spread widely, many praised his work, but others criticized him. This led Spener to accept a call to be court chaplain in Dresden. It was here that he became acquainted with August Hermann Francke (1663-1727),

who we shall see later became Spener's successor or at least the second great leader of Pietism and the one who would have a great influence upon Count Zinzendorf.

In 1694 the Elector of Brandenburg (Frederick III), under the influence of Jacob Spener, founded the University of Halle. Spener saw that his friend A. H. Francke be appointed leader of the new institution and that other men who shared his views filled professorships. Halle became a center of German Pietism. Many see that Francke did more for Pietism than Spener had done in that he applied the theory of Spener in developing organizations that demonstrated pious living. The school was deeply concerned with saving souls and with the practical and pastoral work of the church. Much stress was placed upon conversion and living high moral standards. Francke developed an orphanage, a printing house and schools for rich and poor alike. The emphasis upon education of practical religious life led to confirmation becoming nearly universal among German churches.

The Pietists, under Francke, were the first to direct the German churches toward foreign missions.[14] When Frederick IV of Denmark wished to send missionaries to his possession in India, he turned to Halle, and to Francke, to find missionaries. It was from here that Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutschau went to Tranquebar in 1706.

They were the first of a line of missionaries sent out from this center. This was of course long before the beginning in 1793 of the foreign-mission movement associated with William Carey.[15] In our next chapter we will see how this mission outreach of Halle and Francke greatly influenced Count Zinzendorf.

It will be of interest in succeeding chapters to note the number of ideas and concepts of Pietism, gained from Spener and Francke were adopted and implemented in the teachings and theories of Zinzendorf. So much was owed to the influences of the German Pietist reformations.

Spener meant simply to be an orthodox Lutheran, but the reformation he started was much broader than he anticipated. Thus Pietism came to accomplish much more than it hoped. It resulted in higher quality clergy, better preaching, better training of the youth in the teachings of Christianity and the church. Laity were lifted to much greater activity in the church life. Scriptures were more central in worship and devotional life and practice increased. All of this of course is so basic to understanding Zinzendorf, Moravianism and the renewal of the Unity of the Brethren and to their mission outreach.[15]

## FOOTNOTES

[1]A. J. Lewis, Zinzendorf The Ecumenical Pioneer, p. 21.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Fred Ernest Stoeffler, German Pietism During The Eighteenth Century, p. 166.

[4]Sidney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, p. 236.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Stoeffler, p. ix.

[7]A. H. Mumford, Our Church's Story, p. 158.

[8]Ibid., p. 159.

[9]E. Clifford Nelson, "Pietism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 14, p. 456.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]John R. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p. 8.

[13]"Pietism," p. 457.

[14]W. Owen Chadwick, "History of Protestantism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 15, p. 113.

[15]Weinlick, p. 11.

## COUNT ZINZENDORF: THE FORMING OF A MISSION THEORY

We have already noticed that Jacob Spener, often thought of as the father of German Pietism, was a friend of the Zinzendorf family, and godfather of Nicolaus. The visits of Spener and the pietist life-style of the family made strong impressions upon Zinzendorf in his childhood.

Often the home phase of a child's education in the formation of life-long traits and convictions are neglected. But John Weinlick's biography of Count Zinzendorf devotes an entire chapter to Nicolaus' life at home in the country castle. He counts this as one of four phases in his development and training. I believe we shall find that each of these phases, Home, School at Halle, University days at Wittenberg and the year's tour, the Wanderjahr, all had great impact upon Zinzendorf's formation of mission theory.

Though there were other children around the castle at Gross-Hennersdorf, due to Zinzendorf's different personality and poor health in childhood, he desired to be with the older people and thus grew up in an adult world. Thus he developed a very serious attitude about life and interest in religion early. This no doubt was the result of the pietist religion and influences of his grandmother and aunt. Also the close tutorage given him during his first ten years had

a great effect:

> Up to my tenth year there was more care bestowed upon me by way of shielding me from evil influences, and fostering in my heart the work of God's grace than would have been possible anywhere except in a well-ordered church of Jesus Christ. I can say with truth that my heart was religiously inclined as far back as I can recollect; , , , my heart's affections never departed from my Saviour, and there always remained within me a deep and tender interest in his cause on earth. I dearly loved the good old church hymns and vastly enjoyed hearing them sung in the churches...[1]

Zinzendorf recalled two occasions that "decided my whole career." The first occured at the age of six. Herr Christian Ludwig Edeling, his tutor for three years, left his position with parting counsel to young Zinzendorf about the Saviour and his merits. Then he reminded Nicolaus that he belonged to Jesus and to him only which resulted in the young boy resolving to live alone for Christ, "who had laid down his life for me."[2] He shared his decision (along with his inner most thoughts) with his aunt Henrietta and she continued to encourage him in his commitment. Aunt Henrietta, who was only fifteen years his senior, influenced Nicolaus a great deal as she was old enough to act as mother, yet young enough to understand his feelings. Her devoted pietist life and their closeness no doubt was largely the reason that Nicolaus developed a remarkable grasp of Christian teaching so young in life.

The other childhood impression was made when he was eight. One evening his grandmother sang a favorite old

hymn as she went to bed for the night. He lay awake for hours thinking, "with no little perplexity."[3] A. J. Lewis indicated what disturbed him most:

> ...the subtleties of atheism unfolded themselves in the boy's soul; but, he tells us, 'my heart clung to Jesus'. Before he was ten he had determined to be a preacher of the Gospel, and this determination 'to proclaim the Person of the Saviour throughout the the world' remained his life-long purpose.[4]

As a count, Zinzendorf received from his tutors at the castle a much broader training than that of religion. He had to learn the manners, proper dress, conversation, social skills and advanced language studies to prepare for a life of university training, statesmanship and court life. All this training and his status in life as a count was later to become very important in his contributions to Moravians and their missions. As Weinlick says, "The union of piety and nobility is one of the keys to an appreciation of the career of Zinzendorf."[5]

Zinzendorf's subsequent ecumenical spirit and his design for missions was to build up the larger body of Christ rather than separate people from other faiths into new denominational bodies. His goal was to spiritually renew and reform by the heart religion he preached. This spirit and design can be traced to the baroness at Hennersdorf and the catholicity in the religious life of the castle. Grandmother was on cordial terms with others besides Halle Pietists. She welcomed orthodox Lutherans,

had respect for Calvinists and Roman Catholics. "There could be differing intellectual formulations of Christianity but only one religion of the heart."[6] One could even find the seeds of mission outreach in his grandmother's active work toward the widowed, the orphaned and the underprivileged in her community.

The second phase of Nicolaus' education began August 1710 at the tender age of ten when he was sent to the boarding school at Halle and remained there for six years. As you recall, Jacob Spener had insisted that his pietist friend, August Hermann Francke, be installed as the head of the Halle school. They had a close relationship.

> In his letters Francke now referred to Spener usually as "my dear father" and he signed himself as "your dutiful son." He made sure that he absorbed thoroughly the Spenerian understanding of Christianity and that he devoted his energies to its propagation by word and deed.[7]

According to Stoeffler's review of German Pietism, "the theological insights of Spener were not only conserved but compacted by Francke into a clear-cut body of ideas which could be communicated to the younger generation with relative ease."[8]

It was Francke's practical nature to shift from "true" doctrine and theological speculation to right action and devotional earnestness. This shift from the intellectual to the experiential and from what God has done in history to what he wants to do in every human being now led Francke to

develop a very practical type of education in the schools at Halle. I mention "schools", plural, for a reason. Francke held deep convictions that education must be suited to the needs of his students which by his death had numbered nearly 2300. He actually developed four kinds of schools.

1. The "Paedagogium" in which the sons of nobility were educated, [Where Zinzendorf was enrolled] and which, therefore, was meant to prepare future army officers and state officials.

2. The Latin school, which was adjusted especially to the needs of the sons of the professional and merchant classes. It was meant to prepare students for the university and thus to supply future lawyers doctors, theologians, and merchants.

3. The German schools in which the boys and girls of ordinary citizens were given the kind of education which would fit them to become good tradesmen and housewives.

4. The schools for the poor in which board and tuition was free.[9]

Count Zinzendorf's later abilities in various endeavors were influenced by this early training at Halle. The programs provided the students in "Paedagogium" a very broad education. In addition to the usual subjects of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the school also emphasized French. The faculty also introduced them to the principles of jurisprudence, medicine, history, geography, botany, and public speaking. The students regularly visited various workshops and art studios in the community as well. Education included not only the physical sciences, but elementary knowledge of basic trades such as carpentry,

optics, etc. And of course old stand bys as astronomy, music, drawing, and calligraphy were included.[10] All these subjects were to become important later when Zinzendorf began his own training for missions at Herrnhut, a strong foundation in practical skills were to characterize mission workers.

Perhaps Francke's deeper impressions upon young Nicolaus were to come from around Franke's table at meal time. Not only did Francke guide the young men in this intimate way, but he introduced them to famous and influential visitors of the school as they joined Francke at dinner. Returning or visiting missionaries especially were of interest to Nicolaus and some of the other young men. Halle was a great place for the birth of missionary zeal, as Zinzendorf himself testifies:

> The daily meetings in professor Francke's house, the edifying accounts concerning the kingdom of Christ, the conversation with witnesses of the truth in distant regions, the acquaintances with several missionaries, the flight of divers exiles and prisoners, the regulations of the orphan houses, which at this time were in a very prosperous state, the cheerfulness of that man of God in the work of the Lord, together with various heavy trials attending it, increased my zeal for the cause of the Lord in a powerful manner, and laid the foundation of the knowledge of such things as tend either to the furtherance or hindrance of true Christianity.[11]

One of these missionaries referred to was Ziegenbalg who was home on furlough from the mission in Tranquebar. Count Zinzendorf and he became well acquainted and counts as one

strong link in forming the chain of events leading to the formation of Moravian missions in 1732.[12] As he and the other young boys listened to the stories of the work done by missionaries in heathen lands, there arose a desire to share in this work. It was while he was at Halle that the seeds were planted which later grew into the famous 'Order of the Mustard Seed.' The boys who later joined his new order took three pledges: 1) To be kind to all men; 2) To be true to Christ; and 3) To send the Gospel to the heathen. The first five members were of different communions but their pietist devotions to the sufferings and death of Christ kept them from disputes over differing dogmas. Two of the group, Zinzendorf and Watteville, met together to devise methods for the conversion of the heathen. They didn't see themselves as missionaries but prayed that God would raise up those who would share their goals and eventually carry out their plans.[13]

A number of key influences and experiences are seen in this phase of Zinzendorf's education that would serve him well in the development of a missions: the mission zeal of Francke and the vision given by missionaries themselves; the continued pietist commitment to serving Christ in practical ways; the ecumenical spirit of the boys order and its own mission zeal; and the experience in leadership and organization.

The young count took the initiative in forming a small group of boys for prayer and testimony, all true to his pietist convictions. In fact Zinzendorf claims that before leaving Halle, he handed over to Francke a list of no less than seven such associations.[14]

Zinzendorf wished to continue his studies at Halle but his guardian, Count Otto Christian, felt that Nicolaus should rid himself of the reputation of Pietism before entering service of the State. So it was decided that he should study at Wittenberg, the seat of orthodox Lutheranism. This drastic change in his educational life didn't bring a great deal of happiness to Zinzendorf. On the contrary, it presented him with real problems as it scandalized Pietists by his going to the center of Orthodoxy while at the same time presented a young pietist count in Wittenberg where he was viewed with great suspicion.[15]

His isolation from pietist friends pushed Nicolaus deep into his studies and more so into his spiritual life of prayer and meditation, even fasting one day a week, and studying the Bible like never before. Though his first love was the study of theology, he was urged to further his study of law, which he did. Some would see the hand of Providence in his being trained in law as it later was so useful in the management of church and mission affairs. One can see this same measure of fortune in his development and growth in

theological understanding.[16]

Zinzendorf's keen ecumenical determination was tested severely when caught in the middle between Pietism and Orthodoxy. He insisted later that it was at Wittenberg where he really became a strict Pietist. Yet he made his peace with the skeptical guardians of Orthodoxy, especially Gottlieb Wernsdorf, whose influence led Zinzendorf to decide in favor of a religious vocation.

The Count deeply wanted to bring the best of both worlds together in Christian peace and "promptly conceived a scheme of reconciliation between Halle and Wittenberg, which eventuated in the conference of Merseburg between Francke and V. E. Loscher."[17] But the venture was premature and ended bearing no fruit, except that it deepened Zinzendorf's own convictions that God wanted him to be a peacemaker. This later became like an obsession with him, determined only to see "the unity of Christian believers". But neither Halle Pietists nor orthodox Lutherans appreciated his effort.[18]

The last phase of Zinzendorf's education was what was customarily called the "Wanderjahr," the year of study and travel designed to give the university student a world view. Zinzendorf wanted to pursue his commitment to a religious calling and skip the year's travel, but in obedience to the families wishes he set out.

Visits at Leipzig, Frankfort, cities on the Rhine, Dusseldorf, Utrecht and other Dutch cities, Belgian cities, and Paris led to many contacts with influential people who made an impact upon the young count's mind. It also provided time for reflection. Contacts with Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites, Arminians, Anglicans and Roman Catholics further developed his experience in dealing with those of differing religious beliefs. And while at Utrecht he briefly furthered his education in law, English, theology and even medicine, a subject he loved as a lifelong hobby.

Zinzendorf's contact with Cardinal Louis de Noailles in France led to a mutual friendship in which they shared kindred spirit in their concept of Christianity. They discussed openly the differences between their churches. His appreciation for the Cardinal's positions often caused him fear that he was converting to Catholicism, which he hastily resisted. The benefit, again, was a deepening and clarifying of Zinzendorf's theological insights. After these experiences Nicolaus was "never again able to think of true Christians in terms of denominations or factions, but only in terms of their common loyalty to the Saviour."[19]

Zinzendorf wished now to enter the service of the Church, but his friends and family opposed these wishes and plans and insisted upon his service to the State. His grandmother settled the matter by having him appointed as

legal counselor of the King of Saxony. He purchased the estate of Bertholdsdorf from his grandmother, installed his friend, John Andrew Rothe, as village pastor, and the two worked closely together to mold Bertholdsdorf into a model village. It was here that much of the liturgy that Zinzendorf later used was developed. Great preaching followed by general conversation between pastor and people. Hymn singing, accompanied by the organ made the services lively. Many of the hymns Zinzendorf himself wrote. Nicolaus opened his own home in the afternoon for another assembly in which he reviewed the issues of the morning sermon.

Soon a printing press was established at Bertholdsdorf so that publications, especially the Bible, could be produced and circulated. Plans were made to establish a school for young children of noble families, a book store and a dispensary to make medicines available to the poor at little cost.[20] We have now the beginnings of what was to become Herrnhut. It is here that we really begin to see the mission theory of Zinzendorf formally developed and tested. The mission theology was brewing in his mind from early childhood and during his association with Francke and formal school days, but not until he began writing and preaching do we find these mission concepts expressed clearly. The community of Herrnhut provided the testbed and

sounding board for his theories as we shall see.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]John R. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p. 19.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]A. J. Lewis, Zinzendorf The Ecumenical Pioneer, p. 24.

[5]Weinlick, p. 21.

[6]Ibid., p. 22.

[7]F. Ernest Stoeffler, German Pietism During The Eighteenth Century, p. 6.

[8]Ibid., p. 23.

[9]Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

[10]Ibid., p. 27.

[11]Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, Leben Zinzendorfs, translated by Nyberg, Vol. I, p. 69.

[12]Weinlick, p. 29.

[13]Edward Langton, History of the Moravian Church, p. 65.

[14]Weinlick, p. 28.

[15]Lewis, p. 27.

[16]Langton, p. 66.

[17]Stoeffler, p. 135.

[18]Weinlick, p. 40.

[19]Ibid., p. 47.

[20]Langton, pp. 68, 69.

## HERRNHUT: THE BASE FOR MISSION OUTREACH

The Christian community of Herrnhut was the seedbed where the "Mustard seed" of Zinzendorf's early secret society of Christian commitment would take root and grow into the productive mission tree. It was here he and others inspired, trained and sent missionaries. Even after missions were developed in various parts of the world, Herrnhut became the clearing-house for Christian news and mission ventures in the many lands reached by the arm of the Moravian movement. It was here at Herrnhut that Zinzendorf's mission concepts and methods gradually developed. But we must not get the idea that when he purchased the old Bertheladorf estate he had planned to develop a community and thus build a solid and organized base for future mission outreach. For he had nothing more in mind than to create a church within a church for the spiritual growth of those within the parish. We cannot, therefore, look to the Count as the father of Herrnhut, for it really came from the hands of others.

The origin of Herrnhut came rather from the concerted efforts of Christian David, John Heitz and Christian Marche, and a host of dedicated pietist Brethren from Moravia and Bohemia.[1] Christian David, a carpenter in Moravia, Roman Catholic convert to Lutheran beliefs, had

become increasingly concerned for the religious freedom of Protestants in their homeland. John Andrew Rothe, the minister-elect of the parish of Bertheladorf, introduced David to Zinzendorf. When the Count learned of the oppressive situation of the Brethren in Moravia he agreed immediately to somehow provide a place of refuge. Zinzendorf has told us that it was because of his vow in the Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed that he made this positive response.[2] However, there is no record that indicates that he intended to make his own estate available as a permanent home but only a temporary shelter for a few families. He probably had nearby Eberadorf under Count Reuss in mind for a more permanent domain since other dissenters were already living there. But the Count's sympathetic ear and sincere Christian love con¬inced impulsive David to return to Moravia and assure the persecuted brethren refuge under Zinzendorf's care.

Within two days a party of ten were on their way out of Moravia with their few belongings to find the haven of refuge. Zinzendorf, however, was still in Dresden and within a month learned that his steward, John Heitz, with the agreement of family tutor, Christian Marche, had given permission to the families to begin building a house at Bertheladorf on unoccupied land at the base of a hill known as Hutberg. On June 17 the first tree fell that went into

building the first house of the new settlement. The Count had little choice but to approve, yet little realized the significance of this for Moravians and Christian missions. In the next letter he learned that Heitz had named the new settlement, "Herrnhut," (The Watch of the Lord), with the comment:

> May God grant that your Excellency may be able to build on the hill called the Hutberg a town which may not only itself abide under the Lord's Watch (Herrnhut), but all the inhabitants of which may also continue on the Lord's Watch, so that no silence may be there by day or night.[3]

Lewis also mentions that at the installation of Rothe as minister of Berthelsdorf, Pastor Schafer had declared with prophetic emphasis:

> God will place a light on these hills which will illumine the whole land; of this I am assured by living faith.[4]

Other persecuted Protestant brethren quickly joined the early settlers of Herrnhut and within five years two hundred Moravian and other immigrants other areas joined in the adventure.

Zinzendorf, with remnants of feudalistic thinking, felt a growing responsibility for the christian settlement. This was true in a material and religious sense. But indications were that the growing feuds between various elements of the group, especially Heitz and Rothe and Kruger, over various theological issues and the sporadic problems caused by a certain few who had filtered into the community who did

not join in the spirit of the group,[5] prompted Zinzendorf to take full charge of Herrnhut in 1727.[6] He first created a basis for harmony and unity between the Lutherans, Calvinists, and dissenters of established churches of the community. The adoption of the Herrnhut constitution, May 12, 1727, formed the needed base for unification. Three hundred gathered to hear Zinzendorf's three-hour sermon on the evils of schism and the outline of the new two-part constitution. One part dealt with civic responsibilities, "Manorial Injunctions and Prohibitions," while the other part was forty-two statues which was to form their association as a fellowship of Christians entitled, "Brotherly Agreement of the Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia and Others, Binding Them to Walk According to the Apostolic Rule."[7] These rules served as a pattern for future Moravian communities so important to many missions organized in foreign lands. Zinzendorf's love and impartiality seen in his successful effort to bring harmony from discord at Herrnhut by the development of this written treatise is but one of the early benefits that Herrnhut offered the Count in the development of concepts that were later to form the basis for missions. I see this exercise in diplomacy and ecumenical formation at the heart of successful mission management. Uniting believers at Herrnhut from among differing religious persuasions created

practical experience for later use in mission theory. It also gave Zinzendorf the practical basis in the organization of theory for the training of mission workers who could work together in harmony.

To assist in the practical application of these voluntarily adopted statutes for religious life, Zinzendorf led the community to elect twelve "elders", that same day, May 12, 1727, to have spiritual oversight. They selected four by the Lot to serve as chief elders. Due to the spiritual function of the elders, they determined that none of noble rank or highly educated would be eligible. Therefore, they selected elders who had practical skills such as a carpenter, weaver, cutler, potter and cobbler. According to Weinlick these became the prototypes of generations of Moravian missionaries.[8] That same evening, the community chose Count Zinzendorf to serve as Warden and Frederick von Watteville his assistant in working closely with the elders in guiding the temporal and spiritual life of the Settlement.[9]

Keep in mind that this is the same Watteville who had vowed with Zinzendorf while at school in Halle to work together for the conversion of the heathen. It was their obligation to the Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed that led them to receive Moravian refugees when Herrnhut began; now this obligation led to their working closely in the

development of the base for future mission work.

Up to this time Zinzendorf had insisted upon the newly formed group remaining within the established Lutheran church in worship and in beliefs. But from about July 22 to August 4 he began to change his mind. He discovered a Latin version of the constitution of the Bohemian Brethren and prepared a German excerpt and presented it to the Herrnhuters. Though most had only a vague knowledge of their own history, they did notice a strong similarity to this historical document and the one that Zinzendorf had prepared and which they had accepted. They saw this as evidence that God was directly guiding them in the development of their community.[10]

Coming to the close of what Lewis calls "The Golden Summer of 1927," we find the community in unity of belief experiencing a revival of Christian brotherly love and spiritual awakening. Beginning a series of studies on the Epistles of John, the spent entire nights in religious conversation and prayer. It was in this intense spirit of prayer, love and unity that Pastor Rothe invited the entire Settlement to a celebration of the Lord's Supper on Wednesday, August 13. As spiritual leader, Zinzendorf visited each house and dormitory to visit and prepare the newly-reconciled community for this important celebration. Pastor Rothe preached early Wednesday morning of the 13th

and all walked to the church for the Lord's Supper in anticipation for special outpouring of God's Spirit. There was great emotion in the singing and praying that morning. Lewis comments on what seemed to happen that morning:

> An inner anointing flowed through every person and with inexpressible joy and love they all partook of one bread and one cup and were 'baptized into one spirit'. All were convinced that, partaking of the benefits of the Passion of the Lamb in real fellowship with one another, the Holy Spirit had come upon them in all his plenitude of grace. They had already been one "body" in a religious community with its own Statutes, but now from this day they were one "spirit."[11]

Herrnhut was reborn in the Spirit on 13 August 1727! The group returned to their homes but met in small groups still grasping the lingering blessings of the day. The Count, wanting the momentum of the day to not be lost, sent lunch to the groups. This practice of eating in group fellowship resulted in a revival of the primitive Christian "Agape" Lovefeast which has remained in Moravian ritual till this day. The Herrnhut Diary, Christian David, Spangenberg and Zinzandorf all place this date at the top of their lists as the great turning point in Moravian history. All of the organization of previous weeks and months now turned into action for the Lord. The significance of this day for the mission development of the Moravians can be summed up in Lewis' words:

> It was now the glory of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum (or Moravian Church), after the overwhelming experience of fellowship in the summer of 1727, to act upon the simple truth that to be a Christian is to be involved

> in a mission to the whole world. Unity and mission are inseparable.[12]

The importance of this date and Pentecostal experience of the faithful at Herrnhut was celebrated in 1927 on the two hundredth anniversary of "the great Moravian revival" and accounted for in a book written by Rev. John Greenfield entitled, Power From On High, published by The World Wide Revival Prayer Movement. There are many, therefore, that attribute the great missionary successes of Moravians to this being filled with the Spirit of God. (Certainly the Spirit of God is an important key to success in preaching the Gospel to the world, so who can question this factor.)

Since they believed God was leading them, they allowed God to directly influence them in their decisions. The "Lot" increasingly became the manner of discerning God's will. This method seems to have been used regularly in the history of the Brethren. Langton refers to the way it was used in 1467 to select men for ministerial office:

> The meeting was preceded by a fast, and opened with prayer and reading of Scriptures... They first chose twenty men from among the Brethren present, and out of these they selected nine... Of the nine their intention was that three should be appointed by Lot for the ministry... they wrote the word "Est," meaning 'It is he,' upon three slips of paper, and left nine slips blank. It was possible, , , all the nine would be rejected...a little boy drew the slips and gave them to each of the nine Brethren. . . The three were thus elected.[1]

They used the Lot especially in doubtful cases, even for gaining assurance in marriage matches. This method was used

later when missionaries were to be selected. In fact most major decisions were made by this method with the result that Moravian leaders had confidence that plans made were God's will and thus not to be altered without further testing by Lot. This assured them that God was with them. There is little record of any questioning this method. The problem with the method that I see, is that once the Lot was cast, there was little incentive to question the matter further. Changes were slow in coming. And in mission management, flexibility and rapid response to changing situations is often critical. By the 1740's and 50's Moravian historian Hutton noted frivolous use made of the Lot to decide such hints as, whether they should go to a meeting or build a house; or whether certain opinions were right or wrong.[13] According to Winelick the Lot was used by the Moravians for a century and a half.[14]

One of the organizational features developed at Herrnhut that later missions employed was the "choir." This is not to be confused with the contempory church choir. Rather it is a division of all the Brethren into ten regiments called choirs based upon age, sex and marital status. They were: (1) the married choir; (2) the widowers; (3) the widows; (4) the single Brethren; (5) the single sister; (6) the youths; (7) the big girls; (8) the little boys; (9) the little girls; and (10) the infants in

arms.[15] Langton questions the wisdom in such detailed sectionalizing the life of the community, yet he finds this an indication of the seriousness that pervaded the religious and social life of the Brethren. "They regarded themselves as belonging to an army whose captain was Jesus Christ.[16] These groups met daily for worship and discussion under the guidance of a chosen leader. There is some indication that they served as confessional and a means of maintaining community discipline and morale. The choirs often met informally at work or outside under a tree whenever they felt the need of group fellowship. Zinzendorf would often move from one choir to another praying, singing and making plans with them. This provided him close contact with all ages and the needs of each group of the Settlement. The Count used the division of choirs very efficiently as a method of Christian nurture. Some have felt that the theory of a choir system came after the development of the unique divisions. But as Winslick says,

> the utterances of the count as early as 1729 reveal otherwise, as for instance his hymn "Auf Maria Verkundigung," which makes reference to children, maidens, youths, married couples.[17]

Later, when the Moravians operated their world-wide mission activity, we see the advantages of such a system. It gave Moravian missionaries, especially those with families, freedom of movement as only celibate Roman Catholic missionaries would appreciate. As they traveled

or entered dangerous areas they rest assured that their children were lovingly cared for by the dedicated leaders of the choir. This division into small bands also multiplied the number and variety of religious services of the community. The informal setting of the choir system provided easy introduction of innovations in ritual. For example, at the love feast, during the the cup-of-covenant service, they passed the cup from hand to hand in the Lord's Supper celebration, they introduced foot washing, festival of days for each of the groups, and song services. These rituals bound the Brethren closely together through the years and came to mean a great deal to the missionaries in their bands formed in mission fields. However, we will see that they did not impose all of this ritual upon others. Some, such as foot washing, were later discarded.[18]

At times choirs or bands would be formed for special purposes much like orders in the Roman Catholic church. On August 27, 1727 twenty-four brethren and twenty-four sisters began a prayer plan that provided hourly intercession on behalf of those needing God's blessings. They met weekly to share letters and messages from leaders from distant places so that their prayers of intercession would be geared to genuine and present needs. This program continued every hour of every day for over hundred years. Anyone who has any faith in the power of prayer can see the future

benefits this had for Moravian missions. The prayer plan practiced at Herrnhut provided great comfort to those missionaries serving in lonely distant lands.

During the early days at Herrnhut the Daily Text Book had its origin and is still used today in Moravian family devotions. It became popular for the Count at the evening song service to give the people a verse of Scripture and a hymn verse. The next morning the elders took this text and a hymn verse to every home and dormitory in the village for their personal and group devotions and to serve as a motto for the day. By 1728 a large number of suitable texts and hymn verses were printed on cards and placed in a box. From then on they only needed to draw a card from the box. In 1730 these were printed in advence and the Daily Text Book was thus born. Today it is yearly printed in twenty-seven languages with over a million copies sold per year. Needless to say, these were a constant source of comfort and encouragement in the missions.[19]

Another advantage of the choir system was the natural division of the community and efficient organization for Christian religous education, what Zinzendorf called, "child nurture." Henry H. Meyer in 1928 collected and published much of the counts thoughts on Christian education. Zinzendorf's theory of religious education (in an expanded form) was at the heart of his philosphy of world mission.

The salvation of the child or the heathen was alike the work of the Spirit. His personal experience largely produced his theory in these matters. Herrnhut and later Moravian communities featured several orphanages, boarding schools, and training schools for religious workers. Zinzendorf modeled all of them after the institutions he observed at Halle under Francke. The duplication of these institutions at Herrnhut and elsewhere caused Francke great concern and became the source of friction between the two. Some feel it became the cause of separation between the two. However, the Count later closed one or two institutions in deference to Francke. Schools that developed over the years included:

(1) A Day School for poor children at Berteladorf, the village adjoining Herrnhut. Founded 1923.
(2) Girls' Dormitory and School, also at Berteladorf. Founded 1923.
(3) Adela-Paedagogium modeled directly on the Halle school. Founded 1924. Discontinued 1927 for Francke peace of mind.
(4) Herrnhut Orphanage and boarding school for boys and girls. Founded in 1927.
(5) Latin School, organized at Herrnhut. 1935.
(6) Orphanages for boys and girls were established at Herrnhaag in Wetteravia in 1736.
(7) Paedagogium reappeared in 1739 in connection with
(8) A Theological Seminary and a Latin School in Herrnhaag also in 1739.
(9) Congregational Institutes provided special training of children of Christian parents. 1744.
(10) Nursery for Little Children of full-time religious workers and Moravian missionaries in foreign lands. Founded in 1944.[20]

Herrnhut became a community in which they made no separation between spiritual or religious life and secular

life. They retired for the night at eleven p.m. and were up by four in the morning. And even during the short night, watchers counted off the hours with song and intercessors remained on their knees in prayer. This intense pace of charismatic spiritual life became a contagious brand of Christianity. As within German Pietism, the small Christian formed the strong base in Herrnhut Pietism and provided natural and easy export of its spirit and power. It is not surprising then to find Herrnhuters on the march soon after their awaken[illegible] 1727. They traveled to make contact with like-minded Christians and to share the joy of their religious experience within established churches. Never did they have in mind the separation of believers from such churches, but only to bring the sweet influence of Jesus into the lives of others. It became a genuine sharing of the Good News similar in power to the gospel explosion of New Testament Christianity. They called the newly formed groups or societies within churches the "Diaspora." These became Zinzendorf's first love. Winelick has noted that this practice of sharing Herrnhut life in many places and in many churches became the most significant factor in checking the development of Moravianism as a separate denomination. The diaspora became the first step toward the development of missions. The urge to share with others the richness from Jesus Christ surged new life within the heart of every

Herrnhuter. We now have a strong base built for missions in that we now have dedicated personnel, a constitution and organization. We have hundreds of sincere pietists, reawakened spiritually, unified, filled with the Holy Spirit ready to go where God might lead or at least where the Lot indicated. We have a solid community with a rule to live by, organized by choirs, bands and watches to provide economic, morale and spiritual support for outreach. People, trained in simple but practical skills, with printing presses, song and prayer and total commitment ready to do anything for their Jesus. And not least of all we have a leader, a count who has sharpened his skills in personnel management, spiritual leadership, and experienced educator, with growing convictions about the need to export the Gospel to the world. All we need now is for the call and command to go and Moravian missions would be born.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]John R. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p. 61.

[2]Ibid., p. 37.

[3]A. J. Lewis, Zinzendorf The Ecumenical Pioneer, p. 46.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Weinlick, p. 69. The Moravian immigrants, practically all from the German areas of their homeland, were joined by many native German Pietists and other religious enthusiasts who were not Pietists.

[6]F. Ernest Stoeffler, German Pietism During The Eighteenth Century, p. 138.

[7]Winelick, p. 74, 75.

[8]Ibid., p. 76.

[9]Lewis, p. 54.

[10]Winelick, p.77.

[11]Lewis, p. 58.

[12]Ibid., p. 60, 61.

[13]Langton, p. 123.

[14]Winelick, p. 87.

[15]Langton, p. 77.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Winelick, p. 85.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Allen W. Schattschneider, Through Five Hundred Years, p. 56, 57.

[20]Henry H. Meyer, Child Nature and Nurture, pp. 142-145.

## WEST INDIES: THE FIRST MISSION EXPERIMENT

The events in the life of Count Zinzendorf for the past thirty years mounted toward a momentous adventure for God. He had been blessed to be born into a Pietist noble family, educated in Halle by Francke, introduced to missionaries with tales from other lands, and sidetracked from court duties to govern a growing settlement of refugees which developed into a a renewed Unity of Brethren, now filled with the Spirit, organized, trained to share the Gospel in life rather than in creeds or theory. Many of the events in the count's life became history in spite of his own wishes, often contrary to his choosing. But in looking back, one finds a pattern or as Moravians would testify, a Providence that guided the man and his mission to fulfill Divine will for the glory of God. But is this a fair appraisal? Was there not human invention and initiative? Winelick, in his biography of Zinzendorf indicates the human element:

> Rapid as was the development of Herrnhut, the lively imagination of the count usually ran a step or two ahead of it. As the Brethren grew in their capacity for service, he saw to it that they were confronted with something into which to channel it. In the foreign-mission enterprise he found for his Moravians a project which would keep on challenging them indefinitely. Missions proved to be his greatest monument.[1]

My own appraisal of the blending of human and Divine

initiative is that God presented opportunities to the young count, who, under the guidance and prompting of the Holy Spirit, recognized the open door and, applying all his effort and training, pressed through to accomplish the Divine will. Zinzendorf did not create situations but capitalized upon opportunity, constantly depending upon the arm of God. The secret to his success lay in his Pietist life of devotion to God, the life of prayer and waiting upon God's leading. But when we review the subject of missions, we find not only Zinzendorf but others with equal commitment to God who are drawn together for God's purposes. In this Moravians see the mighty hand of God moving in providential timing and sequence.

I use the term, "experiment," in this chapter heading in two ways. Experiment, by definition, is the testing of a theory. The time for Zinzendorf's and Herrnhut's zeal for the Lord in carrying the Gospel to the world is to be tested. It is now time for the light on the hill of Hutberg to shine around the world. But in another sense, an experiment is to try that which hasn't been done before. Roman Catholic orders sent missionaries and a very few Protestants went to foreign lands for the Lord, but up to now, none had gone to distant lands with the blessing and support of the entire church organization. Kings and missionary societies had sponsored Christian missionaries to

distant lands, now was the time of test for Herrnhut's commitment, a time of opportunity for the entire church to support missions. Would Herrnhut's qualities of unity, simple training, organization and Spirit-filled zeal measure up to the test?

As pointed out, Zinzendorf did not create the test for the church. The opportunity opened in a most interesting way. I mentioned previously the involvement of kings in mission sponsorship. The Catholic kings of Spain and Portugal had been in competition to export Christianity along with trade in their imperialistic empire building. The story line of history leads us down three paths of early Protestant missions from the same point of origin, namely the court of the Danish king in Copenhagen. His motivation to assist in missions seemed to stem from his enthusiastic sympathy for Pietism. We recall the Danish-Halle missionaries, Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau sent to India in 1706 by the Danish crown which had impressed Zinzendorf as a student at Halle. Not mentioned as yet was the pioneer missionary, Hans Egede, who went to Greenland under initial support of merchants in Bergen. When their support was withdrawn, Egede survived by ongoing assistance from the Danish king. Our third mission path that emanated from the Danish court went straight to Herrnhut via Count Zinzendorf's vision of answering the call

for the gospel from the West Indies. But this is getting ahead of the story.

At this point, you may have noticed that again I used the term "Count Zinzendorf." Once again it paid to be a count or Zinzendorf would never have been invited to the coronation of Christian VI on May 12, 1731. Being a cousin by marriage of the Danish king and noble that he was, placed him at the right place and at the right time. One of the members of the royal court, Count Ferdinand Danneskjold Laurvig, fell into conversation with Zinzendorf at the celebrations about his recent trip to St. Thomas island. When the young Zinzendorf later met the Count's valet, a Negro slave from the West Indies named Anthony Ulrich, he learned of the spiritual and physical misery of slaves back home in St. Thomas. Anthony, having recently been baptized, and filled with the first love of Christianity, spoke longingly of his sister and brother still on his home island. He felt confident they would accept the gospel if they only had a missionary to teach them. Zinzendorf was moved near the point of sending one of his Herrnhut assistants, Nitschmann, immediately to St. Thomas but then realized the need of more thorough preparation for such a major undertaking.[2] Zinzendorf also had opportunity to meet two Greenland Eskimos whom Egede had sent to the festivities. In sadness they related to Zinzendorf that

they had just learned that the government was having to cut off support to the difficult mission work there.[3]

Zinzendorf left Copenhagen July 1 with its two Eskimos and one West Indian Negro guests, pleading for gospel help in Greenland and St. Thomas island. Upon reaching Herrnhut he assembled the congregation and told Anthony's story. Two dedicated Herrnhut residents independently of each other, felt the call of God's Spirit to go to St. Thomas. Leonard Dober, after a sleepless night, rose early in the morning to read scripture texts which seemed to direct him toward a positive decision. Not wishing to be hasty in his decision, he visited Tobias Leopold, his closest and most spiritually trusted friend. They walked into the woods on the edge of Herrnhut and discussed the strange sensations both had experienced. After praying together about the matter, they joined their other Single Brethren in a visit to the count's home. As they arrived, Zinzendorf was just concluding his report to pastor Schaeffer regarding the experiences of his recent trip saying, "My dear Sir, there are among these brethren messengers that will go forth to the heathen in St. Thomas, Greenland, Lapland."[4]

Hearing this, Dober and Leopold became determined to proceed with their decision to answer God's call. The next day they formally drafted a letter of commitment to the count for volunteer mission service. A few days later,

Anthony, the St. Thomas slave arrived in Herrnhut according to plans by Zinzendorf to relate first hand his story to the community. Initially, most were ready to go, but thought more soberly about such an adventure when Anthony emphasized the fact that missionaries to the slaves of West Indies would themselves have to become slaves in order to be effective. Due to the long hours and the daily curfews, the only time available for mission work would be during their contact in work together as fellow slaves. This, however, did not dampen the mission fervor of Leopold and Dober. Such prospective hardship led Zinzendorf to move slowly, allowing ample time for hesitancy on the part of mission volunteer to surface.

A theory for future missions was established at this point: missionaries must be volunteers. volunteers who had counted the cost, yet went forth, not looking back. He insisted that any workers who showed any degree of hesitation were not to be sent. A full year passed as Zinzendorf made effort to become fully acquainted with his prospective missionaries. It was now time for action. Yet, such an important move must first be tested by the Lot. The Lot indicated that Dober would go, but Leopold must stay for the time being. Dober asked and the Lot confirmed that David Nitschmann be his companion. On August 18, 1732 Herrnhut sent them off with a farewell hymn service.

On August 21, after most of the night in prayer, Zinzendorf laid hands on Dober, the potter, pronouncing God's blessing on him and after prayer by the side of the rode at three o'clock in the morning gave each man a small amount of money in addition to the contribution the church had given and drove them the first fifteen miles of their month long journey to Copenhagen. It was another month before they sailed for St. Thomas, arriving December 13, 1732. The careful and cautious preparations for this mission adventure paid well, as the mission begun in St. Thomas continues to this present day.[5]

Difficult, however, were the beginning years. What were their mission methods? The first mission activity found the newly arrived missionaries searching for Abraham and Anna, the brother and sister of Anthony, who had written them a letter of introduction to the Herrnhuters. As they read the letter a crowd of black slaves gathered out of curiosity. Dober and Nitschmann immediately began to preach the gospel in halting Dutch. The crowd applauded and cheered when they finished. They seemed to be impressed with these men who came to preach to them--the slaves.

Every evening after their work on construction of a house for one of the slave masters, they preached to the slaves in the various plantations. But because of the harsh treatment of masters over slaves, none felt inclined to step

out to accept the gospel call since their fear of white men had built a wall of mistrust. Their work would be difficult![6] Nitschmann returned home as had been planned, leaving Dober alone. Finding no clay for pottery creation, he served the governor as steward of his house. This nearly cut off all glimmer of trust in the eyes of the slaves, so Dober decided to quit his position and become a night watchman. We don't know if this move would have opened the door to conversions among the slaves, for he soon left to assume his new position of chief elder at Herrnhut.

Tobias Leopold who had been restrained by the Lot at first, relieved him. In addition, eighteen new missionaries from Herrnhut settled in St. Croix. Because of sickness only nine of the eighteen lived more than three months. Eleven more missionaries arrived from Herrnhut before hearing of the illnesses and deaths. When word reached headquarters they were recalled, but only eight lived to return. One would think that none would now be willing to go, but on March 23, 1736 Frederick Martin arrived in St. Thomas to start mission work again. Enthusiastically he began by telling the story of Jesus to a small Negro boy. With one convert in hand, Martin vowed to continue this method of one to one evangelism.

Within six months two hundred slaves had become Christians. When Moravian minister, Augustus Spangenberg,

came from Herrnhut he baptized three of the converts to the faith. This angered many of the plantation owners who feared their slaves would leave or revolt. They attempted to burn Martin's house and disrupt his meetings but failing to stop his preaching, they complained to the island governor who fearing a revolt by plantation owners agreed to put Martin and his associates in prison. But Martin continued to preach each evening to slaves gathered outside his window. With the news that Count Zinzendorf was on his way to St. Thomas, planters mellowed since they had heard of his friendship with the king of Denmark. Soon the missionaries were out of jail. Zinzendorf began open air evangelistic meetings throughout the island and organized four centers appointing elders in charge of each. In later years they established Christian day schools and a Teacher College. By 1854, the first centenary of the mission, there were thirteen missions and 4,000 converts.[7]

J. E. Hutton in reviewing Martin's mission efforts in St. Thomas listed five methods of mission work:

> His first task was, not to preach the Gospel, but to earn his own living...
> His second method was systematic discipline...
> His third method was education...
> His fourth methods was the personal interview...
> His last method was ecclesiastical organization.[8]

In regards to the first task of making his own living, Hutton gave detailed explanation as to why Martin purchased a plantation that included slaves. He indicated that Martin

was a product of the time, and besides, there was no other way for the purchase of land since the law required slaves to be sold with the land. This of course make gospel work among the slaves much easier. But in principle and practice, Moravians did not work to alter the existing law of slavery. They did feel that a Christian example of slave mastery on the plantation was effective. Since 1847 all children born of slaves were free, and slavery was abolished by law in 1859. What effect the missions had on this decision was not clear but they were active in training the natives during the twelve year preparation time allotted for emancipation.

I have spent considerable time dealing with this first Moravian mission effort in Danish West Indies because here we see the experimentation of Zinzendorf's mission theory. We have noticed his patience in selecting solid volunteer workers, tested by time and the Lot. They were to be skilled craftsmen who could finance their own way by their own hands, working with the people they were to reach with the gospel. It is evident that Moravian missionaries were not sent to become involved in local politics and social revolution, but to work within the system. And missionaries were to expect difficulties, even persecution and death. Later missions and missionaries duplicated and refined many of these methods. However, before reviewing other mission

developments, I shall present more deeply the Count's mission methods and instructions.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]John R. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p. 93.

[2]Weinlick, p. 96.

[3]William J. Danker, Profit for the Lord, pp. 17, 18.

[4]Weinlick, p. 97.

[5]Weinlick, p. 98.

[6]Allen W. Schattschneider, Through Five Hundred Years, pp. 61, 62.

[7]Schattschneider, pp. 63-67. See also G. C. Oliver Maynard, A History of the Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province, pp. 4-28.

[8]J. E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, pp. 38-41.

## ZINZENDORF'S DEVELOPING MISSION THEORY

Unfortunately for the student of mission theories, Zinzendorf did not neatly summarize his theory of mission. It is recorded throughout his many writings, sermons and letters to workers over the years. I have discovered that researchers through the years have referred to five important sources where the essentials of the count's mission theory is given:

1. Letter to a missionary of the English Society (1732) written to an anonymous member of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
2. Instruction for the Georgia Colony (1734).
3. Instruction to all missionaries to the heathen (1738).
4. Plan for a Catechism for the conversion of the heathen. (1744).
5. A sermon preached before a Synod of the Moravian Church in Zeist, Holland on "The Foundation of Our Mission to the Heathen." (1746).[1]

A systematic approach to analyzing any mission leader or for that matter any evangelist or gospel worker, is to discover the basis of authority held by the professor of good news or truth. What is the concept of Biblical Inspiration and Interpretation? For Zinzendorf we only need to read a few of his sermons[2] to learn that he did not engage in merely matching "proof texts" with the orthodox theologians to give authority or support for his mission activity. We find him taking an essentially developmental view of Scripture similar to Martin Luther and many modern scholars. Actually, for Zinzendorf the Bible was in no way

infallible in its wording. One had in fact to discern the true meaning of biblical writing and discriminate between the inspired and the uninspired.[3] A short summary of Zinzendorf's point of view regarding Scripture is given in the following statement:

> Though the count shows a deep respect for Scripture as God's word and at times seems to accept all of it, as it is, with a simple naivete, yet behind this he clearly recognizes that not all of Scripture is inspired and at times will even discuss openly in a sermon the human aspect of Scripture.[4]

This developmental view of Scripture led Zinzendorf to take history and the meaning of history very seriously. As David Schattschneider said in his analysis of Zinzendorf's mission theory:

> One does not return to a printed confession of faith, to a book, not even to the Bible, to meet the Christ whose activity is recorded there. Christ is superior, then, even to the Bible as he continues to meet persons where they are at all times. Thus Christ's command to preach the gospel to all the world can in no sense be frozen into a particular period of history. Zinzendorf wanted what he called "the Saviour's own teaching method" to be remembered and followed. This "method" was direct and it was unconditional.[5]

Zinzendorf accepted the challenge, "preach the gospel to all creatures, all nations..." no nation excepted, no people were to have preference, no language nor sex. So we find Moravian missionaries in some of the most hostile places on earth working with some of the most unlikely candidates for Christianity.

Count Zinzendorf, however, did not have visions of

great masses accepting his gospel call, nor did he pressure his missionaries for great numbers of baptisms. In my opinion, he viewed properly the order in God's methods of labor. It was the work of the Holy Spirit to bring conviction to hearts, not the clever human tactics or pressures. Thus we find the primary motivation in Moravian missions was their simple love of God in Christ leading them to provide obedient service as agents of that great missionary, the Holy Spirit. This concept of their part in God's work helps us to appreciate Moravian missionary attributes of persistence and determination in the face of repeated opposition and defeat. The few numbers of converts did not discourage them. They were slow to baptize and organize churches.

> Zinzendorf is quite emphatic in saying that the first thing one should not do is merely to transplant the traditional denominational divisions of western Christianity into new areas.[6]

So we don't see Moravians growing rapidly in numbers nor building new denominational churches. When it comes to the perennial debate between missiologists about national or mass conversions versus the conversion of individuals as Martin in St. Thomas had experimented with success, we find Zinzendorf definitely favoring the work with individuals. "Christ prepares through the Spirit and do not worry about converting all the unbelievers! One preaches not out of fear for the fate of the unconverted but because one wishes

to follow after Christ."[7] To understand further why Zinzendorf was so relaxed in his mission thrusts we must realize that he agreed with many Pietists that the time of massed conversions was not to precede the conversion of the Jews. This explains the count's interest in maintaining close relations with Jews, constantly making efforts to open their hearts and minds to the Christian message. He lived closely to Jewish ways as to be well accepted by them. In fact Zinzendorf reported that "I have not eaten in my lifetime any of the foods which were forbidden to them [Jews] previously" and " I have already used the Sabbath for many years for rest as our Sunday is used for preaching of the gospel."[8]

Those who were led by the Holy Spirit to accept the preaching of the missionaries were called by Zinzendorf, "the first fruits." He used two favorite biblical episodes to illustrate how the first fruits would be identified and how they would respond. The first was the account of the Roman centurion Cornelius and his encounter with Peter, Acts chapter 10. The second was the story of the Ethiopian eunuch and Philip, Acts 8:26-39. Zinzendorf saw three parallel elements in these stories of how Cornelius and the Ethiopian were searching after religious truth on their own. The first element was the fact that the Holy Spirit was the invisible drawing power leading them to seek God.

Secondly, this same Holy Spirit led both Peter and Philip to their respective converts and finally both men believed and were baptized after hearing the gospel proclaimed by the two apostles. Zinzendorf emphatically declared that it was proper that the baptism took place immediately, "it did not take several weeks of preparation first; there was no need to memorize a book; there was no need for answering twenty-four or thirty questions."[9] Zinzendorf is rather clear what all this means in actual application to mission practice:

> Do not begin with the public preaching but with a conversation with individual souls who deserve it, who indicate the Savior to you, and you will perceive it. If it is desired of you, then also witness to each man the gospel publicly.[10]

Regarding further the practice of baptism of the first fruits, in his "Instructions for Missionaries to the East," Zinzendorf wrote that the first fruits were to be baptized only if they requested the sacrament and if they believed in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit." They were also expected to have "a simple grasp of God become man through a miracle." Other requirements included elementary recognition of the difference between good and evil, and the meaning of baptism.[11]

Zinzendorf did not picture the newly baptized first fruits being organized into church bodies as an essential part of the missionaries work: "we should not rush too much

among the heathen with church activities, with support of congregation," wrote the count. David Schattschneider, however, notes that a Synod, fours years after Zinzendorf's death, abondoned these policies regarding the first fruits. Soon traditional patterns of growth through baptism into denominational church body became the standard practice among the missions. This was, according to the Schattschneider, the influence of the count's successor, Bishop Augustus Gottlief Spangenberg.[12]

Count Zinzendorf held definite ideals regarding the missionary as a person and preacher of Christ. The agent of the Holy Spirit must be truly dedicated to the mission vocation. He or she must be willing to persevere under seemingly impossible circumstances and lack of apparent results were not to bring discouragement. His Pietist ethics demanded that the missionary live a morally blameless life.[13]

What was the missionary to preach? Zinzendorf gave much thought to the development of plan for a catechism for the heathen. Appendices A and B give his carefully developed method for converting and instructing heathen. It appears that Zinzendorf took the traditional method of preaching and turned it upside down.[13] He felt strongly about both the proper and improper way to approach the unbeliever through preaching. Zinzendorf said,

> I can never wonder enough at the blindness and ignorance of those people who are suppose to handle the divine word and convert men...who think that if they have them memorize the catechism or get a book of sermons into their heads or, at the most, present all sorts of well-reasoned demonstrations concerning the divine being and attributes, thus funneling the truths and knowledge into their heads, that this is sovereign means to their conversion.[15]

Feeling that this was a "preposterous method," Zinzendorf led the missionaries to carefully bring the searching souls to know and love the person of Jesus Christ who offered the only help that brings satisfaction to the longings of man and eternal salvation.

One aspect of mission theory that we often take care to observe, especially in our day of sociological and cultural sensitivity, is how the missionary relates to the culture of those he seeks to convert. Here Zinzendorf does not disappoint us, especially when we see him in his era of imperialistic empire building by strong nations in heathen lands. The count urged the mission workers to pay attention to the culture of the hearers and express spiritual truths in terms and expressions which could be really understood by the people. He cautioned them to avoid phrases or illustrations which were unknown or easily misinterpreted. His constant goal was an indigenous church, fully and completely in the hands of the local people. Missionaries were to maintain a low profile, "not externally to rule over the heathen in the slightest but to put yourself in a

respected position among them with spiritual power; according to the external, however, to lower yourselves as possible."[16]

As observed earlier in St. Thomas, Zinzendorf did not direct missionaries to interfere with established social practices such as slavery. Even after baptism, slaves were to remain in that condition serving with patience and loyalty. In the case of polygamy where it was already established when the missionary arrived, they were counseled to make no immediate demands that family arrangements be broken up but allow the marriages to remain intact. He felt that as the people moved into an understanding of the gospel, they would themselves recognize that polygamy was not a desirable arrangement. Missionaries were of course never to allow polygamy to be introduced if it were not already existent in the area.[17]

The missionary should be prudent in his relations with the government and political powers. Zinzendorf instructed the missionary "to interact in the smallest measure with the police and to place one's self under the shadow of the authorities." However, he must avoid involvement in local political issues or disputes, and "to teach the heathen, by your example, to fear God and honor the King."[18]

As far as relations with others is concerned, Zinzendorf showed firmness in directing his missionaries

as they related to other denominations and their representatives. In the first place he felt that the aim of missionary preaching is much more than merely securing intellectual assent to any traditional confessional statement, feeling that "denominations were rather an expression of the diversity of the way in which God operates."[19] Therefore he forbade all arguments with representatives of other denominations. However, as was mentioned concerning the first fruits, so now with the issue of separate denominational establishment, modifications to Zinzendorf's wishes not to transplant the denominational scheme to other lands were made. He argued determinedly that especially the congregational forms used in Europe should not be automatically transplanted to the newly developing congregations in the mission areas. "Do not measure souls according to the Herrnhut yardstick," warned Zinzendorf. But due to the unexpected growth of the baptized communities, the Herrnhut yardstick in varying measure later measured all the Moravian missions. As one surveys the missions as they developed in future years, they all tended to become new little Herrnhuts.[20] We now will make a short survey of Moravian missions as they developed through the years, noting mission methods used.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]David Allen Schattschneider, "Souls for the Lamb" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago University, 1976) p. 63. The five sources mentioned may be found in two collections of Zinzendorf's writings, Erganzungsbande Zu Den Hanptschriften. Edited by Erich Beyreuther & Gerhard Meyer. Vols. I, VII, VIII, IX. Hildesheim: George Olms Verlags-buchhandlung, 1964-66. Hauptschriften. Edited by Erich Beyreuther and Gerhard Meyer. Vol. III. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlags-buchhandlung, 1962-63. Each of the five sources may be found in the following pages and volumes:
1. Vol. IX (1966) p. 810.
2. Vol. VII (1965) p. 352.
3. Vol. VII (1965) pp. 19-27.
4. Vol. IX (1966) p. 402.
5. Vol. III (1962) p. 190.
Being written in German, I had to rely upon Schattschneider's translation and appraisal of each.

[2]For a short collection of sermons see Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion by Count Zinzendorf translated & edited by George W. Forell listed in the Bibliography.

[3]For Zinzendorf's thought on how to interpret "seemingly contradictory phrases and expressions" in biblical text, see the above mentioned book of sermons, pp. 15, 60, 61.

[4]Arthur J. Freeman, "The Hermeneutics of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1962) p. 107.

[5]Schattschneider, p. 65.

[6]Ibid., p. 67.

[7]Ibid., p. 72.

[8]Ibid., p. 74.

[9]Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, p. 53.

[10]Schattschneider, p. 77.

[11]Ibid., p. 78, 79.

[12]Ibid., p. 80.

[13]Ibid., p. 82.

[14]Ibid., p. 87.

[15]Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, p. 35.

[16]Schattschneider, p. 99.

[17]Ibid., p. 100.

[18]J. E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, p. 177.

[19]Schattschneider, p. 101.

[20]Ibid., pp. 104, 105.

## SELECTED MORAVIAN MISSIONS

### GREENLAND

Moravians were not the first Christians to begin mission work in Greenland. Hans Egede, a godly Norwegian pastor landed on the coast of Greenland in 1721 in search of Norsemen, whom he learned had gone there in the year 1000. Finding that Greenland Eskimos were the only residents of the 1600 by 900 mile "continental island" he decided to remain, feeling that God had led him to this God forsaken land to convert the heathen to Christ.[1] The story of Hans Egede would discourage missionary minded Christians in any age. Under Danish government sponsorship with the hope that mission work might civilize the Eskimos and open up trade, Egede labored for ten years, learning the language, painting gospel pictures and preaching, but winning only a few converts.[2] With such poor results, the Danish government planned on recalling the discouraged missionary. Count Zinzendorf heard this discouraging story during his visit to Copenhagen as we learned in the account mentioned in an earlier chapter. As you recall, Zinzendorf desired to send workers to Greenland immediately, but efforts to begin the work in St. Thomas Island demanded their full attention. Six months later the first Moravians, Christian David, two cousins, Matthew and Christian Stach

arrived in their new home of icebergs, hard climate, and skeptical natives. Building a stone and sod hut, native style, they awaited their shipment of lumber from Denmark to build a wooden house a mile or so from Egede's colony, calling the place New Herrnhut.

> New Herrnhut! What a reflection it was of their faith to name the site of their little wooden house on the barren shore of Greenland after their spirit-powered home town of Herrnhut in the verdant hills of Saxony! But faith at New Herrnhut was of the same rich mix of steel and spirit as at old Herrnhut and finally founded a Christian settlement which incredible hardships could not prevent.[3]

Hardships of getting food, smallpox epidemic killing some 3000 natives, illness among the missionaries themselves, loneliness, extreme cold, problems learning the language, and finally serious theological differences between Christian David and Hans Egede each with stories that fill chapters constantly tested the old Herrnhut spirit. So much of their time was taken with gathering food and other survival needs, that language study suffered. Besides building their own house, they built another dwelling, native style, that would provide accommodation for any natives that might desire to come for instruction. New Herrnhut thus began with the model of building a community into which natives would be incorporated. Yet in true Zinzendorf manner, they resolved not to bring religion into their conversation with the Eskimos unless asked. Perhaps a greater reason, however, was their fear of

presenting a false picture of divine things with their deficient language abilities. They kept busy assisting Mr. Egede in visiting and caring for the sick.[4] For five long years they labored without any response to the gospel by the natives. Matthew Stach traveled along the coast to make friends with the the people but with no success. We should at least give him credit for experimenting with a new approach! Then on June 2, 1738 came the big breakthrough! John Beck, one of the new Herrnhut reinforcements, was working on a translation of the gospel of Matthew when he noticed that a curious group of natives stopped to watch. They asked what he was doing. He began to explain his work, but then felt impressed to demonstrate his work by reading to them the portion he had translated. As he read of the story of Jesus in Gethsemane, Kajarnak, one of the Eskimos, jumped forward and demanded: "What is that? Tell me that again, for I too would be saved." With inexpressible joy, Beck told again, "the old, old story of Jesus and his love." Kajarnak believed! He and his family were baptized on Easter Sunday, 1739. With a new Christian name, Samuel, he went about telling his story and the story of Jesus. But many resisted his message. Attempts were made on his life, but tuberculosis claimed him only two years later. The significant lesson learned by the Moreviens in reflecting upon Kajarnak's

conversion experience taught them that the hearts of heathen are not won by dogma but "Christ and Him crucified!"[5] This was added to lessons learned from the experiment in St. Thomas and Zinzendorf's theory for missions was proven true.

Their first permanent chapel and dormitory was built in 1747, a "prefabricated" design build in Holland and shipped to Greenland in sections. How is that for mission construction and innovation? Being the largest building the Eskimos had ever seen and erected in such an unusual manner brought large groups of natives from areas around to see the wonder. This seemed to give the mission a new start. Soon mission stations sprang up all along the coast. For 170 years Moravians worked among the Eskimos on Greenland's coast, nearly all the natives became Christians.[6] The needs of other missions in other lands began demanding greater attention and resources. In an unusual turn of events for mission management anywhere, the Moravians in 1900 turned over their entire mission operation to the Danish Lutheran Church to minister to the Greenland converts. This concept must surely be traced back to Zinzendorf's ecumenical concepts. The Lutherans agreed to keep native assistants and teachers for the care of the new Christians and paid about $11,000 for the buildings. We begin to see why Moravian Church membership has lagged through the years. What denomination today would remotely

think of turning over 170 years of mission work to another church. But the Moravians walked away to new mission challenges with satisfaction and joy. Mission accomplished![7]

AMERICAN INDIANS

When the little vessel, "The Two Brothers," brought the ten Moravians under the leadership of Spangenberg to Savannah, Georgia in 1735, they came with double motives; to preach the Gospel to the American Indians and secondly, to establish a settlement in the New World to which Moravians might flee if driven out of Saxony.[8] They began by planting gardens and working as carpenters and builders, but in spare time made attempts to contact Indian tribes in the area. It was here that the first Indian chief, Tomotachatschi of the Creeks, came with his people to hear "the great word." Later the Moravian Brethren built a schoolhouse for Indian children and organized a congregation, with Anton Seiffert, ordained to minister the flock. Weingarth notes that it was to the Georgia mission that Moravian colonists first came with the written instructions by Zinzendorf for colony and mission principle and practice

> in which he particularly recommended that they should submit themselves to the wise direction and guidance of God in all circumstances, seek to preserve liberty of conscience, avoid all religious disputes, always keep in view that call given to them by God Himself to

> preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathen, and endeavor as much as possible to earn their own bread.[9]

This whole brave experiment among the Indians ended when the Moravians, who refused to bear arms in the war between the English and Spanish, were driven out, moving to Pennsylvania at the invitation of George Whitfield.[10]

The first Moravian specifically called as a missionary to the Indians was Christian Henry Rauch in 1739, a twenty-two year old who was sent to New York in 1740 to "seek an opportunity to go and preach the Gospel to the Indians." His day of opportunity came one day when he met a group of drunken, ferocious Mohicans who knew a little "Hudson River Dutch." In visiting with them after they sobered up some, Rauch asked if they would like to have a teacher to show them the way of salvation. They indicated that they would be glad for that as they had often wondered if there wasn't some better way to live. Others had preached and left, but Rauch stayed and calmly taught the Indians the story of Jesus. Gradually his message and life led to ten baptisms by the time Zinzendorf visited the mission. By 1743 the records show sixty-three baptized members! Again war, this time between England and France, brought conflict because the Moravian conscientious objection to oaths and bearing arms, and they were forced to leave New York. The Christian Indians had to move with them

also. The Brethren gave the Indians temporary refuge near Bethlehem at their community in Pennsylvania and later built a settlement for them thirty miles away. Had not the white colonists forced this resettlement, there may have been a great indigenous work continued among the Indians in New York.

The glory of Moravian soul-saving work among the Indians falls more in the time of David Zeisberger, a real Apostle to the Indians, who spent more than 63 years working among the Mohawks, Iroquois and Delaware Indians. He possessed an unusual linguistic ability, learning various Indian dialects, speaking them fluently, writing grammars, dictionaries and translations. His language study was only a means to the end of presenting the Gospel of Jesus Christ in a manner in which the Indian could understand the inner nature of the Savior. He lived months and years in distant native villages being the only white man among them, living as the natives, adopting their customs. But as Schulze comments,

> it seemed as if some unholy powers had formed a conspiracy against Zeisberger, his life work, and against the poor Indian in general. One war after another devastated the land and decimated the people, and prevented the attainment of lasting peace and safety. The mission work was sadly disturbed--crushed in fact in one locality after another.[11]

Not only were many of the missionaries killed but also many of the Christian Indians were slaughtered by warring

tribes and white colonists. Zeisburger died November 17, 1808 at the age of eighty-seven with only twenty faithful Indians remaining to mourn for their "aged father" and lay his body to rest.[12] When appraising the work of Moravians among the Indians, Weingarth says,

> David Zeisberger and his brother and sister missionaries went beyond them [Spanish padres, French priests, English pastors as John Eliot] in the length and breadth of the service they gave, in the depth and height of the conversion experience they taught, and in the Christian Indian culture they achieved.[13]

SOUTH AMERICA--SURINAM

When Moravians launched their mission in 1735 in the Dutch colony of Surinam they attempted to preach to the Negro slaves much as they had in the West Indies. But they met great resistance to such efforts by the plantation owners and government officials. They decided to shift their work a hundred miles into the jungle among the Arawack Indians. Their great enemy there proved to be the malaria or fever-infested swampy jungle as they called it. Other nearly impossible hurdles were the most difficult Arawack language and the Indian's mistrust of any white man. In spite of these difficulties, Missionary Schumann baptized four hundred Arawacks before he was taken by the fever at age forty.

While the Moravians were working in the interior, the Negro slaves began escaping in alarming numbers from the

planters and causing no end of grief to the government officials on the coast. In desperation, the leaders requested the Moravians to return to assist in civilizing these bush Negroes. Soon a mission station was opened and Arabi, king of the Negroes in that area became a Christian. He then became the key to reaching the rest. For fifty years he assisted the missionaries, even preaching the gospel himself. Some thirty years later, a heathen bush Negro by the name of John King visited the missionaries with the report that an "angel" had spoken to him and told him to seek out the Moravians for further instructions. Missionary Van Calker concluded after lengthy questioning that "It was the Lord Jesus who spoke." Persuaded to stay for further training, the Moravians gave him instructions and copies of a New Testament, a hymnbook and catechism to take to his people. Three years later he returned with the report that he had built a church and that all his people believed in Jesus and desired more teaching. He and many of the bush Negroes were baptized. The Moravians expanded their work also among the Indonesians, Chinese and Hindus. According to Weingarth's most recent analysis of Moravian missions, Surinam "shows the newest development of the oldest regulation for mission method and support...a showcase of over 240 years of experiment and experience, race and redemption, mission and merchant, trauma and triumph."[14]

Speaking of the "merchant" portion of the statement above, it is clear that the Moravians took seriously the text, "Even so has the Lord ordained that they who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel." 1 Corinthians 9:14. Little did the missionary tailors, bakers and watchmakers who set up shops in Paramaribo, Surinam in the 1750's and 60's realize that their merchant enterprise would grow into the large trading company, C. Kersten & Co. (literally translated Christoph or Christ-bearing Christian & Company), named after Christoph Kersten, the merchant missionary who organized the company. Today this company is the largest employer and mercantile business in the land. The Moravian Church is the only stockholder, and the profits go to the world-wide mission work o the church. The Moravian mission today is a vital part of the religious and business life of the entire country. Certainly Surinam is one of the success stories of Moravian missions. Today the mission work has expanded to include medical work, work among lepers, a Children's Home, Theological Seminary, schools, clubs and congregations serving the various ethnic groups.[15] Hutton's History of Moravian Missions states, "During the last forty or fifty years [writing in about 1920] the Dutch Colony of Surinam has been by far the strongest province in the whole Moravian Mission Field; more than half the

Christians in the country belong to the Moravian Church." He indicates their efficient methods by categorizing their work there: 1) Business, 2) Supervision, complete with a color-coded system of admitting members to various classes and communion, 3) Social Work, including Poor Society, Sick Club with its own hospital, Insurance Society, Youth Clubs--YMCA and YWCA, Prayer Unions, Singing Clubs, and Reading Society, 4) Self-Help, training people to meet their own needs, 5) Education, 6) Visitation, and 7) Bethesda Leper Home.[16]

AFRICA

Moravian missions in Africa were established and identified in five regions and tribal groups:

1. South Africa West--1737 and 1792--Hottentot
2. South Africa East--1828--Kaffir
3. Tanzania Southwest--1891--Bantu
4. Tanzania South--1891--Bantu
5. Tanzania West--1898--Bantu[17]

Two pioneer missionaries on their way to India reported their visit among the Hottentots and their needs to two Dutch Reformed pastors who passed the information on to George Schmidt in 1736 who felt it a call from God. Some feel it more a way in which he could make amends for his recantation of the faith when persecuted at the hands of Jesuit priests, and as penance had to go to Africa along. This was strange requirement for Zinzendorf had always sent them two by two or more to new lands. It was the beginning

of an unparalleled one-man mission in the story of Moravian missions. It was an example of one of those strange decisions that Zinzendorf sometimes made. Zinzendorf sent him a letter of instruction, "He should once more ask forgiveness of the Savior for his revocation and submit to his discipline; part of it was that he had to go alone on his errand..."[18] For six years Schmidt worked among the Hottentot "animals" that no respectful Dutch or Huguenots would consider more than a "thing." First he built a hut, native style, then a school and planted a pear tree. The Mission grew, the hut became a house and a church, a cutlery and grist mill and many more buildings were added as the school became a teaching post and a training center. The pear tree soon became gardens, orchards and vineyards. His success led to Dutch Church and Boer farmer insistence that he leave. Hoping to return, he said goodbye to his little flock of forty-seven Hottentot Christians and thirty-nine white soldiers who had accepted his preaching. But he never returned before his death.

In 1792 three bachelors went from Herrnhut to renew the mission among the Hottentots. Had all of Schmidt's work gone to ruin through the nearly fifty years with no mission leadership? No, one native women whom Schmidt had baptized and given a New Testament had kept the faith alive among the Hottentots. Within six years, more than 1200 were joined

together in worship. The welcomed response of these natives to the renewed mission efforts speaks well for work of one man's living and working with the people, training indigenous workers, and trusting Almighty God to sent his Spirit to the water and cultivate the seed and young plants. The renewed mission grew to include all of the progressive methods in advanced missions with churches, schools, gardens, vineyards and orchards, sheep herding, gristmill, cutlery, printing press and teacher training school, with wars being the major hindrance to expansion.[19]

In 1828 three missionaries, along with twenty "seeding" Hottentot Christians, responded to the request by Bowana, a chief in Kaffraria, home of the Kaffirs, to send missionaries to come to his people. Here we see the method developed further of using Black native Christians to reach those of another Black tribe or people. In spite of this effort many mission stations were burned in the frequent tribal warfare in Kaffraria. None of the missionaries lost their lives. The explosive temperament of the Kaffirs was redirected by the missionaries in creating some of the most dynamic indigenous preachers anywhere.

As we look further in the mission work in Africa, such as in Tanzania, we see a pattern of Moravian community building, little Herrnhuts to some extent, providing a safe place for converted natives to live and work, a place for

teaching the natives in crafts and preparing them for indigenous mission work, or homes for rescued slaves.[20] Hamilton's history of missions in Nyasaland discusses at length the issue of concentration versus decentralization.

> ...however much it might be sought to avoid the system illustrated by the so called "grant stations" of the South Africa missions of the Moravian Church, there rendered necessary by the former governmental policy of grouping as many of the natives as possible in "reserves," in Nyasaland it was soon found inevitable that native villages of greater or smaller extent sprang up about or on the land purchased by the mission.[21]

This concentration of natives close by the mission station was more a matter of economy as it was often the only way they could make a living. In 1896 the London Missionary Society turned over their station at Urambo near Lake Victoria to the Moravians to operate indicating the growing trust in their ability to manage in difficult circumstances. This has become the Moravian's largest mission.[22]

In J. Taylor Hamilton's history of Moravian missions in German East Africa he dedicates one entire chapter on "Methods of Work."[23] It is clear that by the latter part of the 19th century, Moravians missions emphasized the need for certain characteristics in the workers themselves. They must have varied talents, leadership abilities, proper ethnic and cultural attitudes besides spiritual strength. I am particularly impressed with the sensitivity to the cultural matters.

> He must have a sound apprehension of the ethical bearings of the Gospel. He needs to discriminate between the merely national and the essentially heathen in the customs of the land where he serves. If it is comparatively easy to prevent the people from falsely identifying a mere imitation of European dress and usages with the essential requirements of the faith, it is more difficult to conserve what is innocent in tribal customs by infusing into them the spirit of what is essentially Christian.[24]

The dedication and enthusiasm with which the Moravians applied Zinzendorf's mission concepts in Africa not only proved useful and successful in the early days but also after World War I when political scenery changed. They looked to the future as days of promise as if Jesus had said, "Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes and look on the fields; they are black for harvest!"[25]

We cannot possibly cover the history and development of each mission the Moravians established but we have taken a sample of the more important ones that serve to illustrate the effectiveness of Count Zinzendorf's mission theory. Today we see greater emphasis upon medical work such as seen in the Ruth C. S. Thaeler Hospital de la Mision Moreva in Bilwaskarma, Nicaragua. They even have a Missionary Aviation Fellowship aiding the transportation needs of the missionaries in Honduras. But the principles of Zinzendorf still are strengthening the determination of current missions in developing indigenous workers and national churches and administration with emphasis upon Bible

Institutes designed to train young national church workers.

The great Herrnhut spirit lives on.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]Adolf Schulze and S. H. Gapp, World-wide Moravian Missions, p. 12.

[2]Allen W. Schattschneider, Through Five Hundred Years, p. 71. For a fuller account of Hans Egede's work in Greenland, see J. E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions p. 57-77, and Hans Egede, Lives of Missionaries, pp.5-88, "Memoir of Hans Egede, The Norwegian Missionary in Greenland, 1686-1758."

[3]James Weingarth, You Are My Witnesses, pp. 62, 63.

[4]John Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of The United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among The Heathen From Their Commencement to the Year 1817, pp. 13-15.

[5]Weingarth, p. 65.

[6]Schattschneider, p. 72.

[7]Weingarth, p. 66, 67.

[8]Schattschneider, p. 73.

[9]Weingarth, p. 43. Here he cites George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among The Indians of North America, Part II, p. 2.

[10]Schattschneider, pp. 73, 74.

[11]Schulze, p. 42.

[12]For a full account and tribute to the work of Zeisburger, one must read, Edmund De Schweinitz, The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, the Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians.

[13]Weingarth, p. 42.

[14]Ibid., p. 51.

[15]Schattschneider, pp. 75, 76.

[16]J. E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, pp. 250-255.

[17]Weingarth, p. 81.

[18]Bernhard Kruger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 17. A brief sketch of work in South Africa by Moravian Pioneer, Georg Schmidt is also found in the volume, G. B. A. Gerdener, Two Centuries of Grace.

[19]Weingarth, p. 82.

[20]Ibid., p. 85.

[21]J. Taylor Hamilton, Twenty Years of Pioneer Missions in Nyasaland, p. 89.

[22]Ibid, p. 86.

[23]Hamilton, Chapter X, pp. 87-99.

[24]Ibid., pp. 87,88.

[25]Weingarth, p. 86.

## INDIAN MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Before leaving the review of selected Moravian missions operated through the years, I wish to move to a unique mission challenge accepted by the Brethren which covers a more recent span of time than those we have already reviewed and which, I believe, presents both similar and differing methods used in a situation that looked discouraging from the outset. The mission we shall study has been known as the California Mission, or the Ramona Mission.

Finding no books written specifically about this mission and only short references even in historical works on Moravian missions, I shifted my attention to primary sources. Hidden in a short paragraph of the report of the Proceedings of the 115th General Meeting of the Society of the United Brethren for the Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen held at Bethlehem, August 21, 1890, the denominations secretary, J. Taylor Hamilton, wrote:

> In May our Department of Missions formally accepted as one of our stations the Ramona Mission at Potraro, in the Banning Reservation, in Southern California, so successfully founded by Bro. W. H. Weinland under the auspices of the National Woman's Indian Association. The communicant membership there now numbers nineteen.

In this same report to the church on its mission work, Appendix D consisted of a short report directly from W. H. Weinland. He explains that "Potraro" was an Indian word

that meant, "Pasture land." The Reservation, near the railroad town of Banning between the San Jacinto and Gray Back mountains, hardly portrayed any lush pasture land as it appeared to be mostly desert. The Indians of that part are known as "Mission Indians." Weinland indicated the history of this name reflects the years the Franciscans operated missions for the Roman Catholic Church in this area.

> These missions were centers to which the people were brought, often by force of arms. Large farms were connected with them, worked by the Indians, and contributing such large sums of money to the purse of the Church, that finally when the finances of Mexico were in a desperate condition, these missions were 'secularized' and their riches confiscated. Since then the stations have been in ruins, and the Indians free to choose their own manner of living.[1]

Nowhere in this initial report is there any mention as to the history of the formation of this new Moravian mission station. How did it get the name "Ramona Mission?"

Reading further in the annual reports of the meetings held annually around August at the Moravian headquarters in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, I finally found the story told in the "Narrative from the Report of an Official Visitation in Behalf of the Unity's Mission Department, February, 1898," by Rev. Morris W. Leibert. This report proved to be the most complete early source of information regard this first effort in California by Moravians. There I learned that the poor condition of the Indians following the desertion by the Catholics was "first brought to the notice of the public by

Mrs. H. H. Jackson in her fascinating Indian story, 'Ramona,' and then through the Women's National Indian Association, which agitated for their uplift by means of education and evangelization."

Mrs. H. H. Jackson, was a lady novelist for years known in literary circles in the United States only as, "H. H." In 1873 she increased her reputation by publishing, Bits of Travel; in 1881 wrote a good novel, A Century of Dishonor; and then the finer novel, Ramona, written in 1884 after an extensive visit to California. This lady, known now as Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, gave a vivid description of the many crimes committed by the whites against the "California Red Indians" whom Mrs. Jackson carefully interviewed.

In telling the thrilling story of a stirring romance of an Indian girl, Ramona, who, though brought up on a great Spanish estate in Southern California, chooses the life of her own people, the atrocious state of the Indian was movingly portrayed. J. E. Hutton describes the sad situation of the Indian:

> In open defiance of California law, white traders... often encroached on Indian territory, stolen Indian property, and the, when the Indians attempted vengeance, had them condemned by corrupt judges.[2]

Hutton reports that due to the impact of this moving story of the pitiful situation of the Mission Indians several societies were formed to work on their behalf. Among these

societies was the "Women's National Indian Association," who set for their first year's goal, "the attempt to civilize ten Indians by providing school privileges for them and to Christianize them by giving them the Gospel."[3] Because of the extensive early work on the part of the Moravians among the North American Indians mentioned in our earlier chapter, and probably also due to the ecumenical methods and attitudes of the Moravians, the Association felt confident in asking the Brethren to assist them in this work. Why do I say this?

In Mrs. Jackson's novel, "Ramona," the old priest is pictured in a loving and warm manner. In real life who was he? According to Rev. Francis J. Weber in Catholic Footprints in California, it was Father Francisco Sanchez who was immortalized in her popular novel. Weber describes this loving old priest as one who was highly respected by old and young, whose word was more effective than that of any other priest. "Few places were immune from his influence...he would visit the pool and dance halls frequented by those of the Spanish tongue and by the sheer force of his personality and apostolic spirit, conducted services on the spot. No one dared to interrupt them."[4] In another book by the same Catholic author, after mentioning the fine work of the "good Franciscans, and the infamous way in which it has been rendered abortive, at

first by the Spaniards themselves," he places the blame on the sad condition of the Indians, "more irredeemably by the encroaching Americans from the East."[5] If the novel, "Ramona" did not present a negative picture of the Catholic workers, why did the Women's Indian Association not go to the Catholics with the same promises of funds to again work for the Indians? Many of the Indians still held some of the old Catholic ways and it would seem they would make a fast recovery of the lost years.

I believe the choice made by the Association was dictated by several reasons. First, being a Protestant organization, there was plenty of strong feelings against the Catholics because of the way they had seemingly "used" Indians to profit for the Church, with little done to really help the Indian get ahead in life, and no effort to civilize the heathen. They were critical of the way in which the Catholics generally allowed the Indians to continue with the same "heathen" practices of "ghost dances" and the habits of drinking and gambling at their "fiestas." Second, to prepare the Indians for eventual citizenship, the Association needed missionaries who would bring "conversion" and a new way of life for the downtrodden Indian. Social work was needed in addition to Gospel work. None had a better reputation for establishing successful communities of skilled workers and settled families than the Moravian

Brethren. And they would do this with little emphasis upon doctrinal issues that might incite resistance upon the part of other church groups who might be inclined to support the adventure. W. H. Weinland, having worked for years in the Moravian Alaska mission, came with the handy skills and determination to tackle the immense task of picking up mission work neglected for fifty years by the retreating Franciscans. Little Christianity was left in the Indian way of life. It was worse than starting fresh with heathen who had never known a missionary. And doubly worse coming as a mistrusted white man to work among angry Indians.

What methods would he use? William H. Weinland arrived with his family at San Jacinto June 19, 1889. Supposedly all arrangements had been made, the Indians seemingly prepared and now asking for a Protestant missionary to conduct services on the Reservation. But when the formal meeting convened to sign over land for the mission, the Indians refused to sign. What had gone wrong? After much questioning the truth was learned that the government school teacher, a Protestant Christian, had in fact asked on behalf of the Indians through the government Indian Agency, convincing the Indians this is what they needed, had died. She had been the one who had worked with the Women's Association from the beginning and now with a new teacher with different persuasions in place at the school there

seemed no opening. To fulfill the agreements previously made, however, the government agent moved to assign another Indian territory in which Weinland could begin work. But, true to Moravian methods established years before by Zinzendorf himself, Weinland felt it wise to decline and to "await the leading of the Lord to a people showing real hunger and having true thirst for the Gospel."[6] Only the Lot was missing.

Weinland settled temporarily in San Jacinto on the border of the Reservation. Soon an opportunity came to work in Soboba, an Indian village two miles distant. A cordial welcome was extended and services began in the government school house which soon became too small, forcing them to meet outside under the shade trees. Further invitation for help came from the Sunday-school teacher, also the government school teacher, on the Morongo Reservation, who needed relief for the summer vacation period. It wasn't long before the Morongo Reservation extended an invitation for Weinland to permanently settle there, soon signing papers allowing use of five acres of land for the mission. By May 15, 1890 a mission house and church was completed, dedicated and recognized by the Mission Department of the church in Bethlehem. Weinland was an efficient worker.[7]

The next phase of mission operation, besides the regular worship services, Sunday school and visitation of

Indian homes with personal work, was clearing of the land, working the soil removing stones and a profusion of boulders, then planting fruit trees. Weinland felt that the demonstration of good work habits and skills in agriculture was just as important a task as preaching. The power of example, the success of a well cultivated piece of land would, he believed, lead the Indians to begin working their land in similar fashion. It wasn't long before his theory was proven. Other orchards began to bloom, houses were being built, some of adobe, others of frame construction.

But the full extent of Weinland's goal in this efficient use of the Reservation land was hindered by poor water supply to many parts of the Indian lands and from problems with the government allocation of land. Weinland began a personal campaign to agitate government leaders for reform in the land allotment laws and to dig wells. His annual reports often refer to government inspectors visiting the Reservation in response to his requests for investigation into the Indian land problems he reported to Washington. The constant agitation finally paid off as his 1913 report indicates:

> On November 12th I was summoned to Los Angeles to appear before the Joint Indian Committee of Congress investigating Indian affairs...One result was that on Dec. 15th there was introduced into the House of Representatives a new bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to pro rate these lands to all the

> members of the Band, irrespective of age or sex, a measure for which I have worked for years.[8]

But each year his reports indicated that government had done nothing about the land issue. Finally, the 1917 annual report said, "The year 1917 will go down into history as the year in which the bill authorizing the pro-rata allotment of their lands to these Indians finally passed Congress." Everything seemed settled and there would have been thankfulness "had not the allotment been made in such an unjust manner that it was the cause of a great deal of dissatisfaction among the Indians. An investigation followed, but whether these wrongs will be righted still remains an open question." I found no further indication that they were.

During the years the mission work advanced and regressed often in the same cycle as government agents were appointed and then left. There were reports of times when Catholic agents made their mission work nearly impossible. In his 1918 report he said,

> Too often men are appointed to office in the Indian service who have no other interest in the Indian than the dollars gained. Between the Scylla of indifference and the Charybdis of efficiency in doing the wrong thing, these bunglers stumble into both, and the Indian suffers. Here policy might dictate that under such circumstances the missionary had better be blind, deaf and dumb. But the Indians look to the Christian people of America for justice and as the representative of the Moravian Church, which has always taken an active interest in the welfare of our Red Brethren, I have fought for the right, and by the grace of God will continue to fight that justice be done to these

struggling people.[9]

I have included this rather long quote because it so clearly portrays the fire of this tireless Moravian missionary and the methods he used in dealing with the often corrupt government agents and politicians. Some reports indicated Weinland spent considerable time gaining needed votes to block a certain government agent from being re-elected.

Another desperate need that Weinland pressed the government for was a hospital but here again he met with similar problems as with the land issue. His comment:

> We have seen plans and a location for a hospital adopted, supplies ordered, contributions received, only to learn later that these funds had been swallowed up in the crooked accounts of a dishonest Government official.[10]

Giving up on getting a government hospital, Weinland worked to raise funds so the Mission could build its own Infirmary. Much of Mrs. Weinland's time was taken in visiting and caring for the sick. As soon as the war-time building restrictions ended with the signing of the armistice, they built the Infirmary and adjoining Tuberculosis Ward. The interesting innovation of this enterprise is that Weinland designed it to be a cooperative institution where the Indians themselves under the mission direction would care for their own sick. Later reports indicated that the Infirmary operation was costing the Mission nothing, "this expense being borne by the Indians themselves."[11]

Many of the reports began with the health of the workers and of the Indian members, reporting on those who had to be transported about 90 miles to hospitals in Los Angeles for surgery or special care, but often the reports included the death notices. One of the most costly deaths to the spiritual work among the Indians was that of Captain John Morongo who initially had been the key to Weinland's acceptance among the Indians. He was a police official in government service on the Reservation and in taking sides and participating in the mission services led the others to trust the Moravian workers. He became the most effective translator for worship services.

Regarding the spiritual life of the mission, reports told how they dealt with such problems as "medicine men," "ghost dances," dancing, gambling and horse racing usually featured with the annual Indian fiesta at which many would blow all the money they had earned throughout the year. Weinland spent much time in Temperance work and for a time had nearly complete success in getting the Indians to sign the pledge of total abstinence. Connected with the Indian's drink problem, again, was the greed of the white man, often government officials, in that they ignored the laws that barred saloons from selling liquor to Indians. For a price, there always seemed to be plenty of alcohol on the black market. During the years drunkenness seemed to be a

constant problem along with immorality and gambling. Yet, he proudly reported that all of those he had personally married, were still faithful and none divorced. These seemed to be frequent reference to home building and home life among the Indians. In this regard he said:

> It has ever been a principle underlying the mission work of the Moravian Church, not only to herald the Gospel message, but also to see to elevate the converted heathen to a Gospel standard of true, godly and cleanly living...we have secured four loans of money...and have used this money in building good, substantial homes for them to live in...I can say of our Indians that they pay promptly, as they have promised.[12]

Sister Weinland reported on her work among the Indian women visiting their homes, teaching sewing and needle work, even teaching some to play the church organ and of course teaching Sunday school each week. Some of her more personally rewarding reports told of success in salvaging a young Indian mission girl who had "fallen," or as she said in one case, "strayed from virtue" but through much love, prayer and personal work led to salvation and finally to Christian marriage. Each year's report usually mentioned the special Christmas and Easter services which seemed to attract the Indians in record numbers to enjoy the special music so much a part of Moravian religious life. It was usual to find a well-trained choir of Indian youth home from the government boarding school singing a special cantata.

To offset the evil of the annual Fiests, Weinland

not only preached, but found a better solution in giving the Indians an alternative in the Church Festival. The Weinlands often opened up their own home, inviting their Indian friends to come to for church socials of games, pictures, music and refreshments.[13]

The ecumenical spirit of Moravian working methods was seen again in the response to the request of the Indians on Yuma Reservation in Arizona for mission services. Lacking funds to provide a new worker, they agreed to make a monthly visit.[14] In their work at Yuma we first see the transition from the use of Black Board for visual aid to the "magic-lantern," and slides illustrating the life of Christ and large picture rolls that illustrated the Sunday School lessons. All of these supplies were made possible by donations from the Young Men's Missionary Society in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Weinland continued pressing the home mission board for funds to open the work there but being turned down assisted the Indians in obtaining their own missionary, Rev. Frank T. Lee who had served with the Church of Disciples in Africa. He came with the financial support of the National Indian Association. In fact through the years we find the Women's National Indian Association faithfully continuing support for the Moravian Indian mission efforts, though Weinland did well in bringing the Indians to financially support their own Sunday Schools.

Further, Weinland continued to make visits to Yuma, working with Lee. "We went over the field together, discussed plans for the work, and sought to strengthen each others hands for the work of the Lord.[15] Who but an ecumenical Moravian would assist in bringing in one from another denomination and work so closely together for the common Christian cause?

There was one group of Christians that the Moravians did not work with in cooperation and that was the Roman Catholic priests who were a constant problem. Soon after the Moravians began their work among the Mission Indians, the Catholics priests returned immediately and did not hesitate to interfere in every possible way. Several historical accounts by Moravians charged the Catholics with attempts to poison Weinland and other murder plots and arson. At several stations they built chapels even though there was no need for them. In one case a priest seized the corpse of a baptized member of the Moravian Church, baptized the corpse according to Catholic formula and then had it buried in a "consecrated" Catholic cemetery.[16] But even in this case we do see the old rule of Zinzendorf followed by not only the Moravian missionary but also the Moravian Indian converts:

> But the priest gained nothing by his tactics, our people standing firmly by their declaration: "It is not Christian to fight, let the priest do all the fighting by himself." To match such methods we may not stoop.[17]

While the Moravians did not break records in baptisms their social work for the Indians had a strong effect upon the way the Catholics began to work among the Indians.

> Protestant Mission work has had a reflexive influence upon the Catholics. They see that playing "dog in the manger" no longer enables them to hold the field. They recognize that they must work and do good work if they are not to lose the field altogether.
>
> Nor have we confined our activities to our own membership. We have aimed to benefit the Indians as a whole working for their material advancement as well as for their spiritual good. We have aimed to make our lives, lived in their midst, "living epistles," which all could read and understand. Hence we feel that our personal influence for good extends far beyond our actual church membership.[18]

Certainly their record of baptisms and communicants is not very impressive. From 1898 to 1908 their gain in communicants was only 70 and their total gain in adherents was 100. By 1910 total membership was 194, which seemed to be the peak, holding in the 150-170 range until William and Caroline Weinland retired from forty long years of mission service December 31, 1929. One lament of the Weinlands which perhaps could account partially for the small gains was their restriction in building their own schools, these being provided by the government. The best they could do was to make periodic visits to the government boarding schools to work with the Moravian youth.

Truly we can say that this dedicated couple carried Zinzendorf's mission methods into the 20th century with the spirit of Herrnhut, making the needed shifts in emphasis

upon greater social work but keeping alive the old ecumenical spirit in their patient, personal work on behalf of the Indians they so much loved. The work continued into the 50's when it finally became a self-supporting congregation amidst the family of Moravian churches.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]"Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen," Proceedings of the 115th General Meeting held in Bethlehem, PA, August 21, 1890, p. 31.

[2]J. E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, p. 408.

[3]Adolf Schulze, World-wide Moravian Missions, p. 48.

[4]Francis J. Weber, Catholic Footprints in California p. 139.

[5]Francis J. Weber, Documents of California Catholic History, p. 187.

[6]"Society Proceeding," (see note #1) p. 36.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., for the year 1913, p. 31.

[9]Ibid., for the year 1918, p. 37.

[10]Ibid., for the year 1916, p. 32.

[11]Ibid., for the year 1919, p. 34.

[12]Ibid., for the year 1892, p. 25.

[13]Ibid., for the year 1906, p. 50.

[14]Ibid., for the year 1901, pp. 46, 47.

[15]Ibid., for the year 1905, p. 41.

[16]Schulze, p. 49.

[17]"Society Proceedings," for the year 1900, p. 64.

[18]Ibid., for the year 1908, p. 62.

## CONCLUSION

To trace the development of mission theory, define its origins and calculate its effects in the life and work of Count Nicolaus Ludwig Von Zinzendorf, we have of necessity viewed the Count from various perspectives. Naturally our first attraction to the man is on account of his aristocratic birth and position in life by virtue of being an imperial count. We have seen repeatedly how important his position and financial strength carried his influence and ability to accomplish a great work in life. Without his estate, there would have been no refuge for the Brethren, no Herrnhut. Without his noble birth, there would never have been proper education that would give clarity of thought, gift of language, and confidence to attempt the goals of life. He would never have received invitations to coronations of kings where he would hear the missionary appeal of foreign lands.

But Zinzendorf was more than a count by birth, more than a nobleman, a man of lofty character, he was an intensely spiritual man, a dedicated German Pietist by birth whose his parents and the entire atmosphere in which he was reared and educated was pietist through and through. This inner spiritual fire and personal experience with God pushed the natural abilities of the man beyond the expected.

We thus see a spiritual leader who fanned the flames of revival in not only the hearts of those at Herrnhut, but in lands beyond, sparking reformation in England, in the Baltic and giving strong foundations to religious life in the New World. This spiritual dedication to hear the voice of God opened the way for visions of wider service to the glory of the Lamb.

The fuller impact of Zinzendorf's influential, spiritual leadership was enhanced by his clarity of thought in theological understanding and expression. Added to this, however, was his ecumenical spirit. Many would say the impact of his ecumenical leadership and philosphy is as great as his contributions in mission theory and world-wide mission thrusts. But I believe that the greatest gift to the religious world is when all of the facets of the man are combined. Certainly his mission theory is weakened considerably when you remove his ecumenical spirit, or his Theology, revivalist leadership, pietist spirituality or noble birth. God created man. The man Zinzendorf is one package, complete. And that is what produced the great leader of Moravian missions. Moravians today see all of these dimensions, not the accident of birth or circumstances, but the Providence, Creation, and Gift of a gracious God for the glory of the Lamb that there may be "souls for the Lamb" in his kingdom.

Zinzendorf did not only create a religious community in Saxony, Herrnhut, nor did he merely inspire others to carry the gospel to other countries through the many missions established, but he gave Protestantism the world vision that made it an explosive force in Christianity in the early 19th century. Allen Schattschneider in his popular history of the Moravian Church said,

> One great result of the missionary fervor of the early Moravians must never be forgotten. Their work served to awaken other Protestants to their missionary responsibilities. When the Moravians began their work, not a single Protestant Church in all the world was doing missionary work "as a church."[1]

Schattschneider listed an additional contribution of Moravian missions that is not mentioned elsewhere. This, he said, was the effect West Indies Moravian missions had in eventually freeing the slaves. The Moravians taught the slaves to respect law and order; "they have prepared the slaves to receive the great gift of liberty," Wilberforce argued in England in favor of the abolition of slavery.[2]

If there was one factor in the theory of missions held by Count Zinzendorf that I believe was most effective, I would select his requirement that missionaries possess common skills with which to support themselves. What this effectively did was to present Christianity to other cultures and peoples in everyday life to be observed as the missionary worked with hands to make a living. It automatically provided practical training in crafts and

agriculture and illustrated a work ethic. It eliminated the "professional missionary" who spent the day administering the mission, directing others to work, and presented a common working man, making a living like others, living his Christian faith as he worked. It also forced the missionary to adapt faster to local culture and to live within much the same economic level with those they wished to convert. Self-support provided greater independence for the missions with greater freedom from central organization. Those who pay the bills usually place controls upon the recipients of the funds. This gave individual mission stations greater flexibility to develop the work and adapt it to local needs and customs. This is not to say that Zinzendorf and Herrnhut did not exercise strong leadership in directing the missions or that they did not extend any financial support. Certainly the self-supporting mission theory in practice allowed Moravians to extend their mission outreach much broader than if they had followed a plan of financing each missionary full from Herrnhut or the Count's income.

I have not attempted to separate the later mission developments after the death of Zinzendorf from those that began during his lifetime. Missions established after his death no doubt were greatly influenced by Bishop Spangenberg as he assumed leadership of Moravian work. This would require an in-depth analysis of each mission before and

after Zinzendorf's death and cannot be accomplished in so short a paper. But I strongly believe that though there were changes in mission methods with the use of more modern techniques and tools, such as modern hospitals and air transportation service for missions, and greater emphasis upon social work as among the Indians in California, the spirit of Herrnhut and mission concepts of Zinzendorf lived beyond him to form the foundation of current Moravian mission zeal. In many Protestant missions throughout the world, one can still catch a glimpse of this same mission spirit given by the Count.

The future of Christian missions is now left in the hands of we who have reviewed the story of it beginnings. Will we carry on the spirit and zeal of the pietists, the spiritual revival of Herrnhut, the dedication of those early missionaries? Will we offer to Christ the Lamb all that we have and all that we are as those pioneers? Will we carry on the ecumenical spirit and brotherhood? We can work in and through our calling to hasten the day when every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess that He is the Lord and Savior of all the world. There will be "souls for the Lamb."[3]

## FOOTNOTES

[1]Allen W. Schattschneider, Through Five Hundred Years, p. 82.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 146.

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## APPENDIX-A METHOD FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE HEATHEN

1. Walk and pray of the witnesses among themselves.
2. Singing and prayer in the presence of the savages.
3. The Lamb of God.
4. Who is He? Response: He was slain as a sacrifice for us.
5. Our general depravity.
6. Our redemption.
7. The Lamb of God was other then an ordinary man.
8. Prayer for the heathen.
9. Confession in prayer that He has created world.
10. Explanations adopted to their comprehension.
11. Moderate and never unrequested conversation.
12. Dwell on the evil heart of man.
13. Spiritual and physical death.
14. The resurrection--call out of hell and out of the earth.
15. The heart's desire for Gospel truth and its unbelief.
16. Desire is changed into love.
17. Love is sustained by hope.
18. The sacraments.
19. Baptism in the name of the Father, etc.
20. Explanation, if called for.
21. The Son has created, redeemed and sanctified all. That at the name of Jesus, etc.
22. Looking for the revelation of the Trinity to the heart and mind by the Holy Spirit.
23. Prayer to Jesus as the Lamb, our Lord, everlasting God, everlasting Father, etc.
24. The trinity spoken of as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Holy Spirit.
25. The Divine Person through whom one relates to the rest of the Trinity, on whom all things depend, to whom all things tend and who is always in the world, is Jesus, the Lamb, the Savior.[1]

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[1]David Allen Schattschneider, "Souls for the Lamb," (An unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago University, 1976), pp. 185, 186.

## APPENDIX-B PLAN FOR A CATECHISM FOR THE HEATHEN

Question: Who has brought me into the world?
Answer: Your parents.
Question: What are my parents?
Answer: People.
Question: What is a person?
Answer: An indestructible spirit in a destructible habitation.
Question: What is this habitation called?
Answer: The body.
Question: Who made people?
Answer: God the Lord.
Question: What do you call him?
Answer: Jesus Christ.
Question: Do these words mean anything?
Answer: Yes.
Question: What, then?
Answer: Jesus means a Redeemer and Christ means a King.
Question: Where did He get these names from?
Answer: That is a special history.
Question: What kind?
Answer: He is called Redeemer because he has redeemed people.
Question: What is that?
Answer: See: people are wretched persons inside and out and they are not made that.
Question: How, then?
Answer: They were people free and of the soul.
Question: Who has made them so unhappy?
Answer: An evil spirit.
Question: Why?
Answer: God, the Lord, had warned them of him, but they did not follow him.
Question: Cannot the evil spirit do harm to all the people?
Answer: No one who depends on God and does not follow the evil spirit.
Question: With what does the evil spirit get people?
Answer: He betrays them with any number of things; for example, with temporary honor, with desire and with greed.
Question: Why?
Answer: He makes it known to them: he could make them prominent, he could make them happy, he could make them rich.
Question: Is it true? Could he do it?
Answer: No! All of that comes from God.
Question: How do people believe him then?
Answer: Either God makes them prominent, happy or rich

so that they do not think that it comes from God or they remain their whole lives poor, sad, unrespected and they hope until they die.

Question: Who first followed the evil spirit?
Answer: The first person.
Question: What came of it?
Answer: That all persons must die.
Question: Why?
Answer: It is just that way, whoever has anything to do with the evil spirit, him he kills.
Question: Do they all have something to do with him?
Answer: All do by nature.
Question: How can one know that?
Answer: By the desire after things which he makes known to them.
Question: How did this affect dear God?
Answer: It pained him and he has contrived something and redeemed us.
Question: With what?
Answer: He became in all tranquility a man and let himself be killed by the evil spirit without his knowing whom he killed, but he came back to life immediately and went to heaven.
Question: What kind of special name does he have because of that; when one speaks with him himself or speaks of him with acquaintances?
Answer: The Lamb, the guiltless baby Lamb, or the good Lamb.
Question: What has that helped?
Answer: Since then the evil spirit has lost all people and God has received them again.
Question: But people still die?
Answer: Whoever is his does not die, but he lays only his wretched away and his spirit goes to God until the body is again made ready in the earth, then he puts it on again.
Question: Cannot he just keep it until it is ready?
Answer: No, that would be too painful and smells awful because the body is under the curse; this is a fortunate thing.

Now you know why dear God is called Redeemer.

Question: What else is dear God called?
Answer: Our King.
Question: Why?
Answer: Because he brings a special people out of the people who are his, over whom he reigns in a peculiar and holy way.
Question: How does he become his?

Answer: When one believes what he has done for us.
Question: What comes of that?
Answer: One loves him.
Question: What else?
Answer: One attaches oneself to him.
Question: What else?
Answer: One would rather be with him today.
Question: What else?
Answer: One is ashamed and bows before him all his living days for he has loved us so and has given up his life for us and has helped us.
Question: What comes of that?
Answer: One lives in real pleasure in work, in sickness and what one does, that one does in all love and blessing and thinks steadfastly about his God.
Question: How does one become that way?
Answer: One becomes warm inside when one hears such talking and it is certain to him that it is all true.
Question: What does one do then in service to the Lord Jesus?
Answer: Nothing, but one has given to him everything that is good from him.
Question: How does one receive it?
Answer: When one asks for it sincerely and with tears.
Question: What does one receive?
Answer: It becomes certain to him that everything one has done in his days that is malevolent is forgiven and forgotten and that one did not love him before.
Question: Is that something bad?
Answer: The most disgusting.
Question: Why?
Answer: Because everything mean that one does is only for punishment that one does not love Jesus the Lord.
Question: Oh! Might I lovingly receive him?
Answer: You should receive his love poured into your heart.
Question: How soon can that be?
Answer: As soon as you want; think only that you believe what I say to you and what you feel yourself.
Question: How does it go then?
Answer: I baptize you with water in the name of the Father, His Son and the Holy Spirit.
Question: Who is all that?
Answer: First, the Father of the Lord Jesus.
Question: Who is that?
Answer: It is impossible to describe to you, he is so high, so high, to that I cannot aspire, and there is time for you to get to know him.

Question: How do I get to know him?
Answer: Oh, the Lord Jesus will show him to you himself, sometime when his Father is your Father.
Question: Who is the Holy Spirit?
Answer: Our God, his Father, has him a a helper and the baptized as Mother, whom she teaches to pray.
Question: Why must I be baptized with water?
Answer: The blood, which the Lord Jesus has spilled for you by his death, comes invisibly with it and washes all your sins and punishments away from your heart.
Question: Tell me more?
Answer: When you are baptized in the course of time.

# APPENDIX--C

## MORAVIAN MISSION STATISTICS

TABLE 1--MISSIONS IN 1760.

| MISSION | MISSIONARIES | BAPTIZED | TOTAL ADHERENTS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greenland, 1733 | 15 | 521 | 639 |
| N. Am. Indians, 1740 | 4 | 600 ? | 600 ? |
| Jamaica, 1754 | 11 | 80 | 880 |
| Danish W. Indies, 1732 | 14 | 1600 | 3600 |
| Antigua, 1756 | 2 | 6 | 6 ? |
| Surinam & Berbice, 1738 | 20 | 250 | 400 ? |
| TOTALS | 66 | 3057 | 6125 |

TABLE 2--MORAVIAN MISSION IN 1860.

| MISSION | NUMBER OF MISSIONARIES |
|---|---|
| Danish W. Indies | 32 |
| Greenland | 18 |
| Antigua | 13 |
| Jamaica | 9 |
| St. Kitts | 6 |
| Barbados | 3 |
| Tabogo | 4 |
| S. Am. Indians | 25 |
| N. Am. Indians | 10 |
| LaGrador | 26 |
| S. Africa | 10 |
| Tranquebar | 5 |
| | 161 |

TABLE 3--MORAVIAN MISSION 1832

| MISSION | STATIONS | WORKERS | COMMUNICANTS | CONVERTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Greenland 1733 | 4 | 25 | 830 | 1808 |
| N. Am. Indians 1734 | 3 | 6 | 70 | 349 |
| Jamaica 1757 | 6 | 18 | 1478 | 5146 |
| Danish W. Indies 1732 | 7 | 38 | 4000 | 9435 |
| Antigua 1756 | 5 | 24 | 5412 | 14362 |
| Surinam 1735 & 1738 | 1 | 14 | 1200 | 3353 |
| Labrador 1771 | 4 | 28 | 319 | 874 |
| St. Kitts 1777 | 3 | 10 | 1137 | 5035 |
| Barbados 1765 | 2 | 6 | 282 | 1374 |
| Tobago 1790 & 1827 | 1 | 4 | 18 | 253 |
| S. Africa 1736 & 1792 | 6 | 38 | 1043 | 2963 |
| TOTALS | 42 | 211 | 15819 | 44952 |

TABLE 4--MORAVIAN MISSIONS, 1933

| MISSION | BAPTIZED | CANDIDATES | INQUIRERS | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Himalaya | 149 | 2 | 1 | 152 |
| Unyamwezi | 2947 | 688 | 1014 | 4649 |
| Nyasa | 11626 | 1256 | 1859 | 14741 |
| S.Africa(Kaffraria) | 13612 | 317 | 1446 | 15375 |
| S.Africa(Cape Colony) | 18755 | 27 | 123 | 16905 |
| Surinam/Dutch Guinea | 32780 | 23 | 39 | 32842 |
| British Guinea | 3706 | --- | 21 | 3727 |
| Nicaragua (Moskito) | 13258 | 25 | 92 | 13375 |
| W.Indies(East Prov.) | 25237 | --- | 843 | 26080 |
| W.Indies(Jamaica) * | 13305 | --- | --- | 13305 |
| Labrador | 1004 | 2 | --- | 1006 |
| Alaska | 2383 | 2 | 5 | 2390 |
| California | 170 | --- | --- | 170 |
| TOTALS | 138932 | 2347 | 5438 | 146717 |

* 1931 Figures, (The rest of the figures are found in Periodical Accounts, Second Century, Number 141, June, 1933, p. 279.)

TABLE 5--INTERNATIONAL MORAVIAN CHURCH, DEC. 31, 1973.

| PROVINCE/MISSION | CONGREGATIONS | COMMUNICANTS | MEMBERSHIP |
|---|---|---|---|
| America, N. Prov. | 107 | 26767 | 35327 |
| America, S. Prov. | 50 | 17005 | 22411 |
| Alaska | 22 | 2191 | 4053 |
| Great Britain | 38 | 2660 | 4495 |
| Continential Prov.(East) | 10 | 2428 | 3020 |
| Continential Prov.(West) | 14 | 7627 | 9783 |
| Czechoslavakia | 17 | 1463 | 6445 |
| Eastern W. Indies | 45 | 10063 | 28419 |
| Guyana | 10 | 761 | 1319 |
| Honduras | 30 | 2321 | 4566 |
| Jamaica | 51 | 7479 | 13773 |
| Labrador | 5 | 627 | 2096 |
| Nicaragua | 108 | 10718 | 32177 |
| S. Africa (East) | 33 | 13453 | 31221 |
| S. Africa (West) | 31 | 16309 | 43372 |
| Surinam | 55 | 13250 | 67950 |
| Tanzania (S. Highlands) | 60 | 39104 | 67058 |
| Tanzania (Western) | 20 | 14349 | 35124 |
| Tibet & N. India | 4 | 125 | 374 |
| TOTALS | 710 | 188700 | 412983 |

TABLE 6--MORAVIAN MISSIONS BEGUN AND ABANDONED.

| MISSION | YEAR BEGUN | YEAR ABANDONED |
|---|---|---|
| Lapland | 1734 | 1735 |
| Guinea Coast | 1736 | 1741 |
| Ceylon | 1738 | 1741 |
| Algiers | 1739 | 1740 |
| Persia | 1747 | 1748 |
| Egypt & Abyssinia | 1752 | 1782 |
| East Indies | 1759 | 1795 |
| Kalmuck Tartars | 1815 | 1822 |
| Cherokee Indians | 1740 | 1900 |

Note: The above figures may be found in David Allen Schattschneider's Doctoral Disertation, Souls For The Lamb, pp. 52-58. Some are also are given in the Periodical Accounts as noted under TABLE 4.

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